

LABOR MAGAZINE

THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

War Threatens

J. B. MATTHEWS

Harlan County, Ky.

BRUCE CRAWFORD

Power and Politics

JUDSON KING

The Lawrence Strike

SAM BAKELY

KEEP TO THE ISSUES, MR. SLOAN

Editorial

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Vol. XX—No. 12

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

BRUCE CRAWFORD, editor of Crawford's Weekly, Norton, Virginia, is known throughout the South for his ability as a writer and his courageous fights against the KKK, religious cruelty and stupidity, racial discriminations, and the respectability which lives off the misery of the workers. Editor Crawford is now being sued by Sheriff Blair of Harlan for \$50,000, because he published a story about Blair's brutality.

* * *

SAM BAKELY, graduate of Brookwood Labor College, went into Lawrence, Massachusetts, shortly after the 23,000 textile workers had walked out on strike, to see what he could do to help them. At once he became a leader of the picket lines and, according to all reports, was largely responsible for the militancy of these picket lines.

* * *

A. J. MUSTE, chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and dean of Brookwood Labor College does not need any introduction to Labor Age readers.

* * *

DAVID J. SAPOSS, instructor at Brookwood Labor College, is perhaps the best living authority on the history of the Labor Movement in the United States. He is the author of a number of books, one of which is a study of the post war conditions in the French Labor move-

ment, recently published. Last summer, while in Europe, he attended the Congress of Socialist and Labor International about which he reports in this issue.

* * *

JUDSON KING, director of the National Popular Government League, is a well-known writer of the Power Lobby.

* * *

J. B. MATTHEWS, executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, is also chairman of the First Youth Conference held in Holland in 1928 and the Leaders Youth Conference held in Germany in 1930.

* * *

LUDWIG LORE is the former editor of the New York Volkszeitung.

* * *

BENJAMIN MANDEL, labor organizer and writer, was active in the White Plain Road Laborers Strike last summer and is now helping in the Brooklyn Edison Employees organization campaign.

* * *

PATRICK L. QUINLAN, journalist and writer on Irish questions.

Dance Recital and Concert

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19, 8:30 P. M.

Program to be announced later.

Admission 50c.

C.P.L.A. Headquarters, 128 East 16th St.

NOTICE

Conference for Progressive Labor Action

New York Branch

Meets every Second and Fourth Friday of each Month.

IMPORTANT

**Labor Age and C. P. L. A. have moved
from 104 Fifth Avenue to 128 East 16th
Street.**

**We now have a large hall with offices to
which members and friends are invited to
come.**

On Sunday, December 13, J. C. Kennedy will speak on
"How Shall We Deal With The Unemployment Problem?"

• LABOR • AGE •

December, 1931

EDITORIALS

JIMMY WALKER said to Tom Mooney the other day, "you will soon be free." Mooney answered, "I doubt it." We too are "from Missouri." We will believe that

Mooney To Be Freed?

Tom Mooney is free, when we get the news over radio, from two or three press associations and in half a dozen newspapers, and then sleep over it and wake up in the morning to find out that it was not all a dream.

Yet it is possible that by the time this issue reaches our readers such a decision may actually be announced. Certainly very powerful interests, political, religious, etc., seem to be at work to this end.

We hope that Mooney will be unconditionally pardoned. We are not among those who wish, or almost wish, that Mooney may not be pardoned, because that might serve to revive faith in "American justice" under capitalism! By steadfastly refusing to accept a parole and thus tacitly admitting guilt, and by his fearless radical utterances throughout his imprisonment as well as by that imprisonment itself, Mooney has at great sacrifice served the cause of labor and of radicalism. Let those who have endured equal torture be the only ones to suggest that he should bear more.

As for the "Mooney case," as apart from the fate of Tom Mooney the man, that case is on history's record and American capitalism will not be able to wipe it off nor to nullify its effects. If Mooney is now set free, it will be a confession that a monstrous wrong has been committed, and a fresh impetus will be given to the radical movement. If Mooney is kept in jail, that will be a continuation of a monstrous injustice and this also will give an impetus to the radical movement.

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EVERYBODY who knows the Mayor of the "greatest city on earth" knows that he is kind-hearted and sentimental. Everybody who lives in New York and has been

Jimmy Walker and The Mooney Case

weaned from the bottle also knows that Jimmy is a keen politician and that it is inconceivable that he should go on such a mission as this one to California without having carefully considered its political angles.

We are not disposed to press the point too hard. If the financial and political bosses of California and the United States have decided that it is time to release Mooney, naturally they do not want it to appear that they are yielding to the demands of radicals, trade unionists, liberals or kind-hearted ladies. They will make as much capital out of it for themselves as they can. This is plain enough. And, as somebody remarked, "if they are going to play politics, it is better that it be in the cause of Mooney's release," than in many other causes we can think of!

Yet we need not become mushy and sentimental about

it all. If Mooney is released, there will be a lot of people who think that is an argument for voting for a Democratic president next year! There will be a lot of people who figure that it proves Jimmy Walker cannot be a grafting or inefficient Mayor or even if he is, that it ought to be forgotten because he acted like a "grand guy" in the Mooney case! This will be unfortunate, to put it mildly.

For the workers of the United States it is tremendously important that they should realize again that Mooney, innocent, has been in jail for many weary years because the labor movement in this country has been only mildly interested in his release, owing to the fact that he is a radical, and because labor was too weak to compel his release even if it had wanted to badly enough.

That Jimmy Walker should be the agency through which Mooney is set free, if he is set free, is another indication of labor's pitiful weakness. No man who tries to organize or dares to strike in this country will be secure against jail or assassination until the labor movement itself is so strongly organized both industrially and politically that it can protect its own.

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THE formation of the Committee for International Anti-Fascist Protest in which the C.P.L.A. took a leading part, and the recent activities which are described else-

Anti-Fascist Rally

where in this issue, was an event of first-rate importance in labor history. It has had international repercussions.

But for the activities of this Committee, not a voice, it seems, would have been raised in the United States in connection with the visit of Dino Grandi, to protest against Fascism and the flagrant attempt to popularize Fascism in this country in connection with the visit of Mussolini's foreign minister. It was amazing to find the excuses which individuals and organizations offered for failure to participate in this protest. Some liberals thought that Fascism ought to be given "freedom of speech," as if it were not equally important that the opponents of Fascism should also have the freedom to speak their minds, and as if free speech for Dino Grandi included an ostentatious welcome to him on the part of the City of New York. Others actually believed that this representative of Fascism was honestly here on a "mission of peace." There were trade unions which hinted that they were all in favor of protesting against Fascism but wanted to remain in the background because they had recently gotten substantial favors from Jimmy Walker and his police.

Fascism is an appalling international menace. Those who do not realize that, in view of what has happened and is happening in Italy, Hungary, Poland, Germany and England are wilfully blind. Here in the United States, unless both the strength and the spirit of the labor move-

ment are raised in the near future, it will be a simple matter for big business and finance to establish its own Fascist dictatorship. There is no doubt that certain people are already definitely thinking about such a dictatorship. General Smedley D. Butler, former Marine Corps Commander, spoke in a recent speech in Philadelphia of the possibility of a working-class revolution due to the glaring contrast between the unemployment and poverty of large masses and the concentration of great wealth in the hands of a few. He told of having been invited to confer with a group of multi-millionaires, 14 of whom possessed wealth amounting to five billion dollars, who were worried about this possibility of revolution, and were ready, according to Butler, to give up half their fortunes by taxation, on condition that the fund be handled by a non-governmental agency headed by a man without partisan ties, and in whom the people would have complete confidence! If this would not be Fascist dictatorship, what would it be?

We are happy to be able to announce to our readers that the Committee for International Anti-Fascist Protest is going to celebrate the victory which it achieved through its protests in connection with Grandi's visit, at a luncheon in Irving Plaza, New York, on Sunday afternoon, December 20, and that the committee will not go out of existence but will organize for permanent activity against all forms of Fascism in this country and abroad.



THE fact that the 21 railroad labor unions in this country have informed a committee of railroad presidents that they will not accept a "voluntary" cut in wages of 10 per cent is a hopeful sign. It

The Railroad Unions and Wage Cuts

may mean a turning point in American trade union history.

Taken as a whole, the railroad unions are the strongest, the cleanest and the most intelligent group of unions left in this country. This is not of course the same as saying they are perfect!

When some of these railroad unions in 1916 got together and threatened a general strike unless Congress passed the Adamson 8-hour law, Congress hastened to oblige, and even the Supreme Court judges easily overcame their doubts about the constitutionality of the law!

If the railroad unions, protected as they are against hasty action on the part of the operators by the Railroad Act, were to yield, the last barrier against the wage-cutting policy decreed by the bankers would be gone, fresh cuts would be forced on other workers, and these workers would lose pretty much all faith in the effectiveness of unions. If on the other hand, the railroad unions put up a fight, wage-cutting may be ended and workers everywhere will be encouraged to organize and fight again. Let us have some of the old-time militancy in the meeting of the general chairmen of the railroad unions in Chicago early in December.



IF the railroad unions are going to protect their members, something more than a fight against wage cuts and for shorter hours and old age pensions will be necessary. There must be a complete change of viewpoint. They must get back to the spirit which animated them in 1919 when they demanded "government ownership and democratic management" of the railroads and were interested in a labor party.

In recent years many of the railroad unions went in for "union-management cooperation." By working with the bosses, the men were to get higher wages and stable employment. The higher wages were painfully slow in coming and now the bosses demand cuts. As for stable employment, ask the 300,000 or so railroad workers who are laid off!

The trouble is, fellow-workers on the railroads, that the private-profit system is wrong and workers can never get anywhere by working with the bosses to make it more efficient. You were on the right track in 1919 when you were planning to change the system.

Daniel Willard, that very smooth and intelligent gentleman who "sold" union-management cooperation to you and made you believe you were selling it to him, gave you a good lesson the other day in how wobbly this whole economic system of ours is. You, railroad union presidents, asked Mr. Willard and his colleagues whether if you took a cut there would be any more assurance that you wouldn't get laid off. And Mr. Willard answered that intelligent men like yourselves would realize that everything was so uncertain that he could give no guarantee whatever that unemployment wouldn't get worse!

Why fool ourselves any longer? Why waste precious time trying to patch up a machine that is falling to pieces before our very eyes? Why not devote ourselves to building up the power of labor against the bosses and educating ourselves to take control when their feeble hands fail, and build an economic system in which there will be bread and freedom and justice for the workers, because it will be run for and by the workers and not the coupon-clippers?



WE publish herewith a brief extract from a recent hearing before a United States Senate Committee on Economic Planning. The questions are asked by Senator

Our Wise Rulers

LaFollette, chairman of the committee; the answers are given by Albert H. Wiggin, chairman of the board of governors of the Chase National Bank and United States representative on the Basle Committee which is studying the credit needs of Germany and trying generally to straighten out the world's financial tangle.

Note how much this shining light of the financial world has learned from the depression and how hopefully and intelligently he is going about building a more sane and orderly economic system.

Not all our great and wise captains of finance, industry, and politics are as frank as Mr. Wiggin. He states the facts, however, as they are bound to be under a private profit system. The twaddle of some capitalists about economic planning should not deceive us. They want to introduce planning but at the same time keep a planless system!

But listen to the wise and frank Mr. Wiggin:

"Have you any opinion as to whether it is possible or not to stabilize our industrial activity to any degree," asked Senator La Follette.

"I do not think so," replied Mr. Wiggin. "I sit on some industrial boards and related boards, banking boards, and I find that the manufacturer keeps on manufacturing goods as long as his customers demand them and as long as he can sell them at a profit, and when he cannot sell them at a profit, he begins to reduce his production."

"Do you believe that we have learned anything as a result of this depression which would or which should be of assistance in attempting to prevent, at least, the factors which

are now generally accepted as having contributed to its severity in the future."

"Well," said Mr. Wiggin, "we have learned something, but we all forget very promptly and the next generation would not know anything about our troubles and would not have that experience. Nothing will prevent the recurrence of business troubles at intervals."

Asked by Senator La Follette if he thought a national economic council could have had any effect in checking the excessive expansion and speculative activity in 1929, Mr. Wiggin replied, "I don't think so."

"Then I take it you believe that there is nothing which can be done that will be effective in saving us from these great fluctuations in business activity which we have experienced in our past history?" Senator La Follette inquired.

"I do not think so," was the reply. "A man only lives so many years and his experience only lasts with him so many years. New generations succeed and they will make the same blunders in the next generation and succeeding generations as were made in the first. I do not think an economic council would do any harm, do not misunderstand me."

"Your would not be opposed to an effort being made in that direction," went on the Senator.

"Any more that I think the Federal Reserve Advisory Council does any harm, but I cannot see that it does any good, and it is an expense," the banker said.

"Your council really is one of despair, then," exclaimed the chairman. "We are going to continue to suffer these terrific dislocations and the suffering that goes with it on the part of the people generally."

"I think you are looking for a superman and there is no such thing," retorted Mr. Wiggin. "Human nature is human nature. Lives go on so long as business activity goes on, and we are bound to have conditions of crisis once in so often. . . . There is no commission or any brain in the world that can prevent it."

"You think, then, that the capacity of human suffering is rather unlimited?" asked Senator La Follette.

"I think so," was the banker's answer.

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FOLLOWING up its policy of terrorism, the Brooklyn Edison Company has perpetrated another outrage. But this time, widespread indignation has been aroused and Mr. Matthew S. Sloan, president of the company and one of Hoover's right hand men, has been compelled to make a public statement.

Keep on The Real Issues, Mr. Sloan

On Wednesday, December 2, the Rev. Eliot White, heading a party including the Rev. Charles C. Weber and a group of Columbia and Union Theological students appeared on DeKalb Avenue, Brooklyn, to distribute the Live Wire, organ of the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employees. Hardly had the group rounded the corner of Flatbush and DeKalb Avenues, than they were set upon by an army of thugs, numbering nearly 300. Mr. White was slugged on the jaw and a tooth was broken. Others were bruised and battered by the gang of thugs who worked under the direction of officials of the Brooklyn Edison Company, chief of which was John J. Dundon, general foreman of the wiring bureau.

The following day, every paper in New York City car-

ried accounts of this unwarranted attack upon people who were merely passing out a little blue mimeographed paper containing articles which worker representatives of the Brooklyn Edison employees themselves had written. Several of the largest daily papers, including the *Times*, carried front page stories. The *Herald-Tribune* carried a story giving a brief history of the Brotherhood's campaign during the past summer. From this story we quote the following:

"Levich (secretary of the Brotherhood), charged that employees were worked so hard they were 'driven almost to frenzy,' even in dangerous jobs involving the handling of live wires. Work that should take from 12 to 16 hours to be done competently was ordered finished in six hours. He asserted that the company maintained a 'spotter bureau,' headed by John Deevy, a retired police lieutenant who, in addition to his city pension, receives \$10,000 a year from the Edison company for his services, and that this bureau hired gangsters to conduct attacks upon union organizers."

In his statement to the press, Mr. Sloan, as is to be expected of his kind, attempts to drag the "red herring" of radicalism across the real issues. He thinks that by linking the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employees with the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, whose purpose, of course, is to work toward bringing about a saner and more decent social order than the one which throws 10,000,000 on the bread lines because there are too many millionaires who, despite all their humanitarian gabble and the suffering of the workers, intend to remain millionaires, he can fool the workers and the public.

Certainly, Mr. Sloan, the C. P. L. A. is opposed to a social order which permits fellows like yourself to fatten on the misery of the workers. We are for those who produce the wealth of this country and against those who rob them. That is why we want to help your workers organize.

But our political philosophy has nothing to do with the charges brought against you and your company by your employees. What we want to know, what your workers want to know, and what your customers, the public, want to know is, are these charges true? You say that the workers themselves on their own initiative attack the distributors of the *Live Wire*. We say this is a lie. Why is it that these workers did not attack *Live Wire* distributors until after Judge Folwell had ruled that its distribution was legal? Why is it that you or your representatives gave instructions that workers caught with a *Live Wire* in their possession would be fired? Why is it that the demand for the *Live Wire* has grown so tremendously?

You, Mr. Sloan, pretend to believe in freedom. You imply that your workers are perfectly free to join any union or organization they may desire. We challenge the sincerity of this. We charge that every employee so far discovered to be a member of the Brotherhood has been fired. Do you propose changing this policy? If so then make a public statement to that effect.

Yes, Mr. Sloan, the C. P. L. A. is interested in organizing the Brooklyn Edison Workers. But the C. P. L. A. is a responsible organization, consisting of people who show a much greater responsibility toward their country and toward their fellow citizens than you are apparently able to understand. You, and your kind, who have gotten the world into its present mess, are the irresponsible ones. You, who know no other way to answer the starving millions from whom you have gained your fortunes, than with brutality, and insults of soup kitchens and charity.

Powerⁿ_a^d

THE report of President Hoover's Commission on Muscle Shoals has just been made public. It furnishes an easy introduction to the relation between Power and Politics. Through it we get a quick glance into both the national and the non-partisan aspects of the problem which is the viewpoint from which this article is written.

Since economic forces dominate politics, the first question is: What does the Power Trust want? Answer: To continue its present high rate schedules in order to pay dividends upon inflated securities, to rule labor, and to evade taxes. To do these things it must control law making, law administering and the interpretation of law, local, state and national; it must dominate the generation, transmission and distribution of electric current; it must control regulating commissions and tax commissions; it must discredit and destroy, where possible, public plants.

Low rates and taxless towns are bad examples for the people to be thinking about. Muscle Shoals would be an especially odious example since it would be the first super-power system owned and operated by the people in the United States and it would soon produce results comparable to the Ontario-Hydro super-power system, and through competition would force the Electric Bond and Share Company of New York, which controls most of the power companies in the South, to cut its rates in half in several states. That would make a break in the Hindenburg line of high regional rates which the power combine has established from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

What Does Hoover Want?

What does President Hoover want? Answer: To be re-elected next year. He needs votes, especially farm votes. He needs a huge campaign fund and a powerful, highly organized political machine. He needs the votes of some Democratic Senators and Congressmen, as well as those of Republicans, to prevent the Norris Muscle Shoals bill being passed over his veto at the

The dominant force in the National Electric Light Association is the "Public Policy Committee," the function of which is "to determine the policy of the association on all questions of broad import." It consists of around 40 men one half of whom are from New York. Such powerful names as those of Sidney Z. Mitchell, Matthew S. Sloan, Samuel Insull, Henry S. Doherty, C. L. Edgar appear from year to year. These are the type of men President Hoover calls into counsel privately and publicly to promote prosperity, prevent panics and avert unemployment and wage reductions.

By JUDSON KING,

Director, National Popular Government League (Non-partisan) Washington, D. C.

coming session of Congress. Muscle Shoals is of national significance politically. It has become a symbol in the public mind. Mr. Hoover would like to eliminate it from the campaign. If he cannot do that he must attempt to turn the issue to his advantage.

See, now, how cleverly all these wants are met in the appointees on this latest Muscle Shoals Commission and in their report.

The Commission condemns public ownership and operation and advises the President and the country that the Shoals should be turned over to private enterprise. That satisfies the Power Trust. Mr. Hoover has delivered the goods. Its money and political machine can be turned loose for him in the election.

The Commission advises that "It is economically feasible and desirable to use and operate the Muscle Shoals properties for the following purposes: (a) For quantity production of types of commercial fertilizer and fertilizer ingredients of greater concentration than those which are now generally sold to the farmer; (b) Cooperative scientific research and experimentation for the betterment of agriculture; (c) Manufacture of chemicals."

This makes good campaign thunder. Thousands of stump speakers from coast to coast can wave this report before country audiences and prove how strenuously the President has fought to get cheap fertilizer for the farmers. They will forget to mention the fact that the Fertilizer Trust is also for Mr. Hoover. Cheap fertilizer means much to farmers, east, west, north and south, much more than city workers

Politics

can understand. For 10 years now the Power Trust has spent thousands on thousands of dollars in propaganda to sell that idea of cheap fertilizer at Muscle Shoals to farmers and thus get the votes of farm representatives in Congress for its Muscle Shoals bills giving them the power.

More than that, Mr. Hoover's campaign orators can show that seven out of the nine members of this Commission are Democrats and that six of them were appointed by Democratic Governors. By this they will prove to the innocent that Mr. Hoover is not playing politics. Moreover, as "representing national farm organizations," the President himself selected "Edward A. O'Neal, Chicago, Illinois, President of the American Farm Bureau Federation," and the President's other appointments were likewise non-political, being an attorney and an engineer from the War Department, which has charge of and is familiar with Muscle Shoals and could, therefore, give technical help to the Commission.

Who Appointed Hoover's Commission?

These orators will forget to tell the people that Governor Henry H. Horton, Democrat, of Tennessee, and Governor B. M. Miller, Democrat, of Alabama, were put in their seats by the Power Trust machines of their respective states; that a chairman of the Commission, Judge S. F. Hobbs, of Selma, Alabama, was campaign manager for Miller; that it is openly charged that Miller's campaign was largely financed by the power interests; that Mercer Reynolds, appointed by Horton of Tennessee, has for years been actively associated in Power Trust politics with Claudius H. Huston, personal appointee of President Hoover as chairman of the Republican National Committee but kicked out of that key position because of the disgraceful disclosures of the Senate Committee investigating lobbying. They will forget to say that Mr. O'Neal is an Alabama man and for years has been supported in his former position as President of the Ala-

bama Farm Bureau Federation by the Alabama Power Company and has played the game with the Power Trust for years. Mr. Hoover may as well have asked Sidney Z. Mitchell, head of Electric Bond and Share of New York, to appoint a commission to advise him on public ownership.

We see that such influence on Senators and Congressmen as the Governors and Democratic political machines of Alabama and Tennessee can wield will be used in an attempt to force them to sustain Hoover's veto of the Norris Muscle Shoals bill for government operation, and support Mr. Hoover's "new solution" of the Shoals question in Congress.

Incidentally, Senator Norris has been perhaps the strongest representative of the agriculture interests in Congress for many years. He has had the courage to tell the farmers that by no process now known can nitrates be taken from the air in such quantity and at such cheap cost seriously to compete with commercial fertilizer; that the promise of cheap fertilizer from Muscle Shoals was bunk and a mere lure to enable the power interests to get control of Muscle Shoals. He has pointed out that not one bid of the private interests for Muscle Shoals has ever guaranteed the production of cheap fertilizer, and he finally proved his point last year by permitting the Hoover contingent in the House to write the fertilizer section of his bill, *provided* the Government kept control of power, which it would sell at cost to any commercial or fertilizer company. A compromise was effected to this end, and yet Hoover vetoed the bill! Why? Because it would not turn Muscle Shoals power over to his friends whose political help he needs.

This brief reference to a current issue leads us to a consideration of the established publicity and political machine which has been set up by the power industry as a constituent part of its regular business processes. Mr. Hoover will need the help of this machine. He was over advertised as a

nominee and his course in office has been so vacillating and so economically unsound even from the viewpoint of a competitive system as to have offended large sections of American business and industry. He has blown hot and cold, said one thing and done another, on practically everything save power. To the allied utility interests he has remained true throughout.

ada, but all inter-related and under national direction. The "company members" of this association generate around 90 per cent of the entire kilowattage used in the United States. Each company annually pays one-fifteenth of one per cent of its gross revenues as regular dues which produces around \$1,000,000 per year, a large portion of which is used for

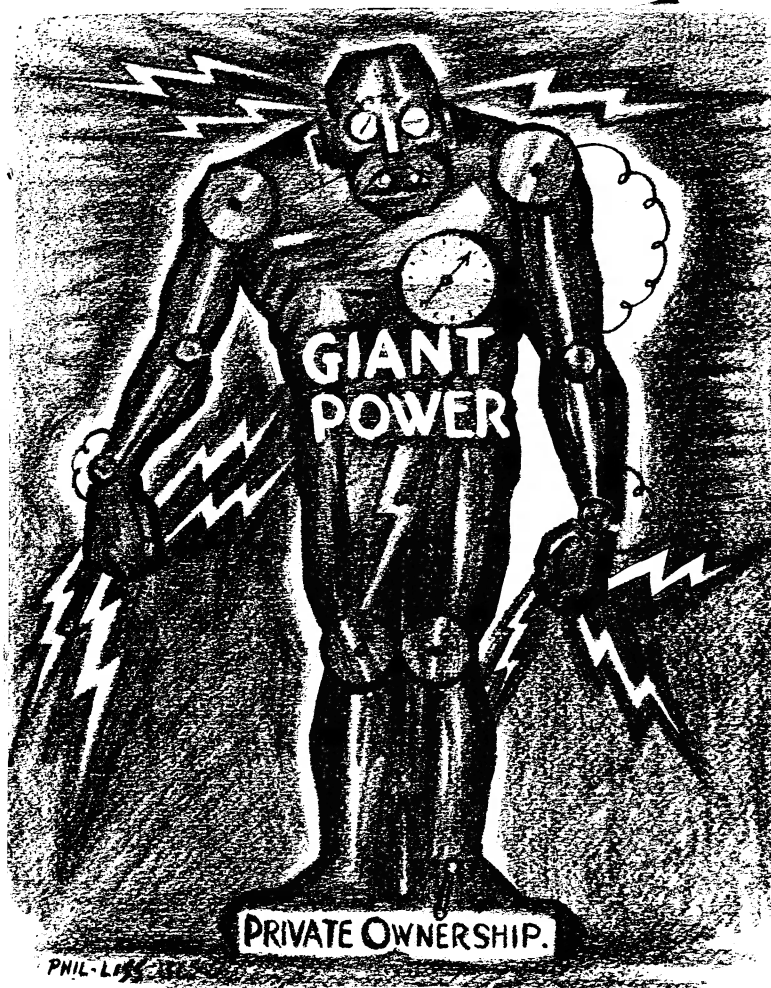
propaganda and political purposes. This, however, is only a small part of the total amount spent for these purposes. It is charged up to operating expenses and so paid for by the public. Many times it is transferred to investment costs on which the people are expected to pay dividends perpetually.

There have been organized some 27 state bureaus of public utility information. These cover all the states. They are contact agencies for the distribution of literature, releases to newspapers, etc. They get their speakers before all kinds of professional and business men's, women's, farmers' and other clubs. They are active lobbyists and play politics.

The managing director of the N. E. L. A. is an able and charming gentleman, Mr. Paul S. Clapp, former private secretary in respect to power matters to the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Herbert Hoover.

Mr. Clapp succeeded in his present position Mr. H. M. Aylesworth, now managing director of the National Broadcasting Co. controlled by the same gentlemen who control the power trust. Mr. Aylesworth furnishes allegedly free radio service to the United States Chamber of Commerce, and each week Mr. Merle Thorpe, editor of *The Nation's Business*, official magazine of the Chamber of Commerce, over a nation-wide hookup discusses business problems with his fellow citizens and is usually careful to wedge in a strong condemnation of public ownership, of power in particular, and to praise "rugged individualism."

The National Electric Light Association is the dominant organization



The Giant with the Feet of Clay

It is reported that even the Republican National Committee is in financial straits, as many of its old big business contributors are not chipping in as usual. Mr. Hoover has need of the money and machinery of the power crowd. They have both and they are his best bet—as he is theirs.

Public Utility "Information"

First comes the National Electric Light Association, "Voice of the Industry," with headquarters in New York City, but which has 12 geographical divisions, each with its separate officials and headquarters covering the entire United States and Can-

of the Joint Committee of National Utility Associations of which the Hon. George B. Cortelyou, president of the Consolidated Gas Company of New York, who was a famous progressive in Roosevelt's day, is chairman. Other members are the American Street Railways Association and the American Gas Association, the American Telegraph and Telephone trusts and the railroad interests also, frequently giving a helping hand, so that here we have an organized combination of national utility interests which fight practically as one man along all fronts. The power boys, however, are the leaders.

"From the Cradle to the Grave"

The N. E. L. A. has what it terms a "Public Relations National Section"—a disarming designation for the more vulgar work of lobbying, fixing and propagandizing. Mr. Matthew S. Sloan, now president of the New York Edison Company, when chairman of this section was much interested in schools and in national education. In one of his official reports, in 1925, he said:

"It is perhaps impossible to make our Public Relations work so inclusive that it will stretch from the cradle to the grave, but we can at least begin early with it and there is a particular need for furnishing correct information about our industry to the schools."

How near the cradle, Mr. Sloan indicated in his report to the convention of the N. E. L. A. the next year:

"The Section has prepared a 32-page book, printed in color, for *children*. It is titled 'The Ohm Queen' and is intended to tell the story of electrical service *in the home* particularly to the young people who are such an important element in our homes and who will be the customers, the investors, the voters and the law-makers of the future." z

Employees of the New York Edison Company, now laid off by Chairman Sloan and who find difficulty in keeping their children in school, might apply to Mr. Sloan for a copy of "The Ohm Queen" so that the education of their children might proceed during this frightful period of unemployment.

The dominant force in the N. E. L. A. is the "Public Policy Committee," the function of which is "to determine the policy of the association on all questions of broad public import." It consists of around 40 men one half of whom are from New York. Such powerful names as those of Sidney Z. Mitchell, Matthew S. Sloan, Samuel Insull, Henry S. Doh-

erty, C. L. Edgar appear from year to year. These are the type of men whom President Hoover calls into counsel privately and publicly to promote prosperity, prevent panics and avert unemployment and wage reductions.

Machine for Fooling The Farmers

There is at hand then the most powerful publicity machine ever set up in America, ready to proclaim to the farmers from now on until the election in November, 1932, Mr. Hoover's grand plan to give them cheap fertilizer and at the same time picture to them and to all city people the danger of Russian bolshevism invading our country through the gateway of the Norris bill for public ownership and operation of the Shoals.

This is not all. In every section of every state the power trust keeps on its regular payroll lawyers whose real business is politics. It is their duty to get themselves placed upon county, state and national committees of both the Republican and the Democratic parties, or to see that other men are so placed. Next, to see that other men are selected for county, state and national nominating conventions, which conventions will, in turn, put in the running "safe" men for state legislatures, for governorships, for congressmen, senators and presidents.

Not only lawyers, but, of course, many other men are employed in this service and in due course the campaign committees are given cash contributions and press support for their nominees. Many times the voters fighting over some other issue are unaware that the power interests are a factor in the campaign.

Most illuminating and useful to American voters would be a probe into this political machine of the private utility interests of the same order as the Federal Trade Commission investigation of power propaganda. It is quite non-partisan; it functions quite as smoothly under that great follower of Abraham Lincoln in Connecticut, J. Henry Rorbach, President of the Connecticut Light and Power Co., Republican state boss and National Committeeman, as in Arkansas where Harvey C. Couch, friend of Mr. Hoover, admirer of Thomas Jefferson and President of the Arkansas Power Company holds political sway over the Democratic Party.

At the moment the public is aware that the underlying struggle over the presidential election next year is

Causes Deserving Support

Contributions in the form of food, clothing or checks are urgently needed by the locked-out textile workers of Lawrence who are seeking to maintain their union in the face of the terrific pressure of the mill barons. Send contributions to James W. Sullivan, treasurer, American Textile Workers, 180 Essex Street, Lawrence, Mass.

The miners of West Virginia are facing the prospects of severe privation during the Winter. Unemployment, lock-outs and the black list will burden many a miner's family. Contributions should be sent to Frank Keeney, West Virginia Miners Relief Committee, Old Kanawha Bank Building, Charleston, West Virginia.

Tom Mooney is not yet out of jail. Tammany Hall politicians are not very safe bets to rely upon for his release. The campaign must go on more energetically than ever. Send contributions to Tom Mooney Molders Defense, P. O. 1475, San Francisco, Cal.

The aftermath of the great silk strike in Paterson finds many workers unemployed and in some cases in desperate need. Relief must go on. All contributions should be sent to the Relief Committee, Associated Silk Workers, 201 Market Street, Paterson, N. J.

whether the Democratic convention will nominate a candidate as satisfactory to the power trust and investment bankers as Mr. Hoover now is.

But we must not forget that the utility interests are in politics every day of every year in every municipality, every state and in the nation to keep rates high, wages low and escape taxation.

"The real government of Maine," said a keen Augusta lawyer recently, "throughout its history can be put in three words, representing three periods. They are Land, Railroads, Power."

What Have We to Lose?

The Story of Harlan, Kentucky • • By BRUCE CRAWFORD

As a member of the Dreiser investigating committee, I ventured back to the Harlan coalfield. I did not see much that was new to me; only more of the sort of thing I had seen on previous visits to this realm of the most hideous official despotism in America.

Myself a native of the Southern Appalachian mountains, I am more deeply impressed than the outsider with the tragedy of the Kentucky coalfield. Here is a tribe of native Americans, whose ancestors fought in the American Revolution, now being exploited and impoverished. Their extinction is not an impossibility. Corralled, starved, harried, killed, they are a doomed race—save for a nation-wide revolution which would destroy the vicious combination of state and capital that is crushing them.

Their forefathers revolted against domination by outside capital—Britain's money invested in America to reap returns on materials and men. It was the first American revolution.

And their forefathers owned the vast acres in Kentucky's mountains and valleys. They were an independent lot, now fabled in sagas. But they knew little or nothing of the rich de-

posits of coal underlying their lands. Came agents of outside capital—New York, Philadelphia, Chicago—and wheedled the land with its coal away from these unsuspecting hill people. The consideration was usually a mule and a musket.

Worse Than Feudalism

The coal was exploited and so were the native people—who no longer roamed the forests and scanned the limitless hunting grounds from mountain tops. They were huddled together in feudal mining towns and compelled to go under the very hills they once owned to root out the coal that had

been taken from them. If they refused to mine this coal under conditions imposed by the operators, they were driven away or left to make their living as best they could in the now ravished hills. The feudal slave had no freedom. Nor did he have responsibility. Yet he lived. These Kentucky mine slaves have "freedom" to quit their jobs; they are on their own responsibility; but they have no opportunity. Certainly a worse condition than feudalism.

These Kentucky mine workers may be likened to the soil—soil that has been exploited, crop after crop, until it has become thin and poor. Just as soil will not continue to produce without replenishment, so these overworked and impoverished miners are getting too poor to put forth. Nothing is being "put back" into the human soil. Worked out, they will be discarded or left to disappear with "disastrous things." Their place will be taken by other work slaves, who in turn will be worked out, the process continuing until the resources of these hills will be exhausted and the region abandoned—all for what?

To the open hearings conducted by the Dreiser committee came typical victims of the Harlan impoverishment and terror—natives bewildered by this industrialism of the Morgans, Insulls and Peabodys, yet eloquently articulate in their distress. Their eyes stood out like the eyes of hunted animals, and their voices were shrill, but they told their poignant story simply, clearly, unforgettably.

The Miners' Story

It was almost the same story. Discharge for joining their union or for trading at outside stores where food is 30 to 50 per cent cheaper than in company stores. Evictions from company hovels. Homes raided



"Rugged Individualism" In Harlan

Duffy in The World-Telegram.

for syndicalist literature or union cards. Search and seizure without warrants. Abusive treatment of women and children by deputy sheriffs. Men jailed on trumped-up charges, or shot down like dogs by company guards deputized by Sheriff John Henry Blair. Women and children left to the yellow mercy of the Red Cross whose officials were either coal operators or their friends. Betrayal by the United Mine Workers Union, which had been collecting dues for many years. Subsistence on relief from their new union or from free-hearted peddlers on the highways. Children undernourished and without clothing to attend school. Arrests for having "unlawful" literature received through the U. S. mails. Blacklisted, hounded, starved, terrorized, with "carloads of law" stirring up the dust of the highways and descending upon soup kitchens, churches, lodges, and homes with license to destroy and kill.

This was the story of Harlan, told over and over again by witnesses and unwittingly verified by Sheriff Blair when testifying before the committee.

At a Wallens Creek meeting attended by the committee, a gnarled, gaunt miner, of perhaps fifty, made an eloquent speech, straight from the bosom. Here was a picture no modern artist could exaggerate — a bent animal prancing furtively to and fro on the platform, his gray face tense with hatred, his eye emboldened with this opportunity to unbosom his feelings to the world, his voice husky but firm. He looked like a caged animal (he had served a prison term for violating a "corrupt labor law," he said). He pulled his absurdly short coat around his ribs, holding it together with one

hand while gesturing menacingly with the other. There was desperateness in his impoverished limbs, fangs in his mouth, claws in his hands, and revolution in his heart. He had nothing more to lose.

Why Should We Be Afraid?

Another speaker, Mrs. Shackleford, with her little boy of about eight years toddling about her, made a stirring talk, which was really a song. There was the spirit of Patrick Henry in her heart. "What have we to lose?" she said to her own people. "They have done everything to us already. Why should we be afraid to tell the truth here before these writers and let the whole world know what we are suffering?" She came over this with singing refrain, her voice ringing with a natural eloquence that brought tears to the eyes of many.

These people, speaking out of their deep need, can beat professional speakers all hallow. They are not concerned with mere impressiveness. They throw exhibitionism to the winds. Their speeches ring true. And no visitor can hear these people and fail to be moved by their deep sincerity. Even the stenographer employed by the coal operators to take down revolutionary utterances must have shed tears inwardly at these recitals of stark need and continual frustration.

The workers welcomed the committee and the opportunity to get their story before the world. Suppression of news has been well nigh complete, save for the bold efforts of the *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, a Scripps-Howard paper, and reports carried by radical

publications. Most of the newspapers have conspired to ignore or suppress the facts, and joined in a chorus of denunciation of those who sought to reveal the truth. The Associated Press has assumed a phony air of neutrality, slurring over significant events and playing up unimportant matters.

Boris Israel, correspondent of the Federated Press, was shot in the leg two weeks after a bullet hole occurred in my own leg as I was crossing a bridge in the town of Harlan. These two events constituted an unmistakable challenge to the press of the country. Newspapers outside the state began to show interest, some of them sending reporters to Harlan. The United Press correspondent managed to get in and out without being shot. The Associated Press representatives seemed to enjoy immunity.

But the Dreiser committee has accomplished a job of incalculable value. The testimony gathered will be a source for magazine and newspaper articles, books, and plays for a long time to come. The charge of "misconduct" published against Dreiser after his departure doubtless will prove a boomerang. It has served to bring more attention to the Harlan situation than perhaps anything else could have done. The element of sex will focus the eyes of an all too sensual public on the hideous injustices and official depravity of Harlan county. Had Dreiser purposely primed the investigation with the high explosive of sex, he could not have detonated greater public curiosity as to the conditions revealed by his committee. Henceforth there may, for that reason, be a keen receptiveness to the story of Harlan's inhumanity to man.

White Man's "Fairness"

By FEDERATED PRESS

FIVE items in a single issue of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, Negro weekly, indicate the complete supineness of southern "liberal" white opinion on the race question, and the helplessness of colored workers before the wanton attacks of employers and white rowdies. Four of the five items were virtually ignored in the white press of the south, which means the nation, since press association dispatches originate in white newspaper offices.

Indictments were dismissed against 10 citizens of Grayson County, Tex. The indictments had been returned

when a howling mob burned down the courthouse at Sherman, May 9, 1930, and entombed George Hughes, colored laborer. Hughes' offense was arguing with his employer about some back wages which Hughes claimed were due him. The employer's wife entered the dispute and Hughes' doom was sealed.

L. R. Boaz, instructor and assistant football coach at Alabama Agricultural & Mechanical College, was beaten to death by hoodlums and Head Coach B. D. Green was severely injured in Birmingham. According to the *Courier's* version of the story, Boaz and Green had driven to Birmingham for

a football game, and had parked their car by the side of the road, when a white truck-driver backed into it, and damaged it badly. While the two colored men were negotiating with the truck-driver for a settlement, a second car containing five white men drove up, explained that "this is a white man's country," and beat and kicked Boaz into unconsciousness. He was refused admission to the nearest hospital, which is for whites only, and died in a hotel room two hours later.

Juliette Derricotte, dean of women at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., (Continued on Page 28)



A Worker Signs A Contract

America Welcomes Grandi

By BENJAMIN MANDEL

ON Monday, November 16, Dino Grandi, Fascist Foreign Minister, assassin and ruffian extraordinary, arrived in the United States to visit Uncle Shylock in behalf of his lord and master, Benito Mussolini. But a month before Pope Pius in his encyclical had called attention to the plight of the Italian working class when he declared: "The want of so many families and of their children, if not provided for, threatens to push them—which may God avert—to the point of desperation." The International Labor Office of the League of Nations (a most conservative source) had pointed out in the October, 1931, number of its information bulletin that the number of workers registered and wholly unemployed in Italy had risen 85 percent from August 1930 to August 1931. In its hour of need, fascism represented in the person of Dino Grandi turned to Wall Street and the United States government for assistance in order to bolster up and safeguard its uncertain fortunes.

The importance of the visit of this blackshirt plenipotentiary cannot be estimated without having in mind the present state of affairs in Europe. Again we see the scramble for secret treaties and alliances, which are so ominous a portent of the gathering clouds of another world-shaking conflict. Hence it is that Grandi follows close upon the heels of Premier Laval in his quest for the good will of American imperialism and the support of its heavily laden golden coffers.

The welcome for Grandi in the United States was well assured in advance by the close financial intimacy between the House of Morgan and the Italian fascist government. The *Daily Mirror* of November 26 shrewdly observes in this connection, "In short the real object of the good signor's journey to these shores is now being realized. It was to lay Italy's cards on the table where they might be looked over by the real rulers of America."

Signor Grandi's private conferences with J. P. Morgan, Thomas W. Lamont, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Myron C. Taylor and others of their financial calibre are the ones he will report on

to Premier Mussolini. Washington furnished the window-dressing."

In addition there exists without doubt definite fascist leanings among certain gentlemen of our own ruling class. Not long ago for instance General Smedley D. Butler, who cherishes ambitions to be America's Mussolini, boasted of the fact that he had the backing of four men, whose aggregate wealth runs into enormous figures, for a similar experiment in the United States. There are those in high places in this country who welcomed the opportunity furnished by Grandi's visit to popularize the ideas of the strong man on horseback, the heroic figure with the mailed fist to handle any form of mass protest or resistance during the present economic depression.

With this powerful backing and with the official support of the United States Department, with the press carefully primed to the gunwales playing up the coming visitor, the stage was set for a real triumphal tour for Grandi.

The chances for an effective protest were handicapped moreover by serious disadvantages. The Communists under their present destructive, sectarian policy had destroyed the Anti-Fascist Alliance, which was once a flourishing organization enjoying real mass influence. The *Nuovo Mondo*, former anti-fascist organ, had just been taken over by a financial manoeuvre on the part of fascist elements. No movement existed, ready at hand and organized for this work, prior to Grandi's coming. The Italian movement was torn by long factional strife into countless warring camps.

Nevertheless a conference was called on November 10, on only four days' notice at the Italian Labor Center, to which 35 representative Italian and other organizations responded and joined in the Committee for International Anti-Fascist Protest for the purposes of this campaign.

In Face of the Common Enemy

For the first time in years, these organizations subordinated their differences in the face of the common enemy—Grandi and fascism. They elected

an executive committee representing all the various tendencies in the conference. This splendid display of unity marks an historic and outstanding achievement of the campaign.

It seemed that there was but one insignificant and indigestible element with which unity could not be achieved. That was the official Communist Party, which was represented at the conference by a number of delegates directly and indirectly through subsidiary organizations. These delegates made a few ridiculous motions and a long-winded resolution, not intended to fight the main enemy—namely fascism and Grandi—but rather to "expose" everybody at the conference as agents of fascism. The result of their antics was that they completely exposed themselves to the ridicule of the entire conference. After this the entire handful walked out, singing the "International," amid the combined applause and jeers of the delegates, who then proceeded with alacrity to their business for the evening.

We first planned to meet Grandi at the pier as he came off the boat. But the city and national authorities were so badly terrified by the hostile sentiment against him that plans were changed almost every minute—from the pier to Jersey City, to a special train, and even to a special airship piloted by Lindbergh himself. The reception planned by Mayor Walker was hurriedly postponed at the urgent request of the State Department. When Grandi finally did arrive in Washington he was hemmed in by a veritable wall of police and military forces.

We held our first mass meeting at Irving Plaza, the day before the guest's arrival. Again the meeting showed a fine manifestation of anti-fascist solidarity including the following speakers, representing many different but yet anti-fascist tendencies: Pietra Allegra (anti-fascist), Giacchino Artoni (Amalgamated Clothing Workers), Arturo Di Pietro (constitutionalist), Girolamo Valenti (Socialist), Enotrio Greco (IWW), A. J. Muste (CPLA), Judge Jacob Panken (Socialist), Carlo Tresca (Anarchist) and Dr. Charles Fama (republican). The meeting was highly impressive and enthusiastic in

voicing the protest of these united elements against fascism and the visit of its representative.

The Communists meanwhile had organized a group in the audience for the purpose of disrupting the meeting. At a given moment one of their number asked for the floor, which was a signal for an attempt to disrupt the meeting. Order was restored within a few minutes, however, and the meeting proceeded. Various newspapers claimed that the Communists shouted "Viva Mussolini." The effect of this incident was to so thoroughly discredit the Communists among the Italians that they were not seen or heard of throughout the entire remainder of the campaign.

That this united front expressed a broad and significant anti-fascist sentiment is indicated by some of the editorial comment expressed in the course of the campaign. The *Daily Mirror* for instance says: "The presence here of Dino Grandi . . . is marred by a heavy undercurrent of hostility existing among Italo-Americans to all connected with Fascist rule in Italy."

The panic prevailing in official circles was raised to its highest pitch when a delegation headed by A. J. Muste and representing the Committee for International Anti-Fascist Protest appeared at the City Hall on November 19 to lodge a peaceful protest with Mayor Walker against the "expenditure of moneys, in a period of unemployment and suffering like the present, upon entertainment of a representative of fascism, and to make public their friendship for the masses of the Italian people who are seeking to rid themselves of this regime." With no logical justification for the lavish welcome to its bloody visitor, the government authorities on the reception day resorted to what the *Daily News* calls, "the heaviest police guard New York has ever thrown about a distinguished guest." Lower Broadway was "lined with tight rows of police, 2100 strong," not to speak of hundreds of plainclothes men; immigration officers and marines with drawn bayonets. The *Evening Post* refers to the prepara-

tions as "fantastic." The *World-Telegram* in a leading headline declared that "Probably Half the People Grandi Sees Are His Guards . . . The hotel, although its guests do not know it, has been a fortress."

In spite of these unusual and elaborate precautions, not a day went by without some telling blow being directed against the fascists. Before the parade to City Hall, lower Broadway was well placarded with stickers, reading, "Wanted for Arson and Murder of thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals—Dino Grandi." During the parade itself, Grandi was greeted with cries of "Assassin" and a marked hostility from the rest of the crowd, which was less articulate, in spite of all staged efforts to create an appearance of enthusiasm. A proclamation giving "the facts about Dino Grandi and the

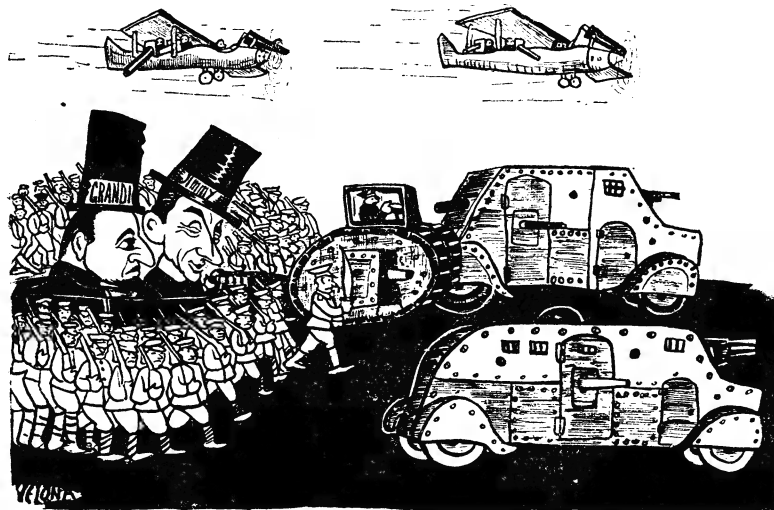
On the following day Grandi was to be the distinguished guest at the Metropolitan Opera House. Again the most elaborate police precautions were taken. Hardly had the orchestra begun to play the opening strains of "Giovanezza" when a veritable snow-storm of "Down with Grandi" leaflets came pouring from the dress circle into the bejewelled audience.

During the reception at the Hotel Commodore the entire building was surrounded with booing crowds of Anti-Fascists, who then proceeded to Carnegie Hall to voice their hatred of Mussolini by giving Toscanini a rousing ovation.

Utilizing even the last moment the Committee sent a telegram to Grandi as he was boarding the Steamship Augusta, which denounced "as a hypocritical gesture" his plea for clemency for Orlando Spartaco, youthful Anti-fascist sentenced to two years' imprisonment by Judge "Hard-Boiled" Harry S. McDewitt of Philadelphia, calling upon the fascist Foreign Minister "in parting to free the 5,000 workers and intellectuals now incarcerated in the Fascist prisons."

Reviewing the entire campaign one may safely say that we succeeded in carrying on an effective and sustained effort with the

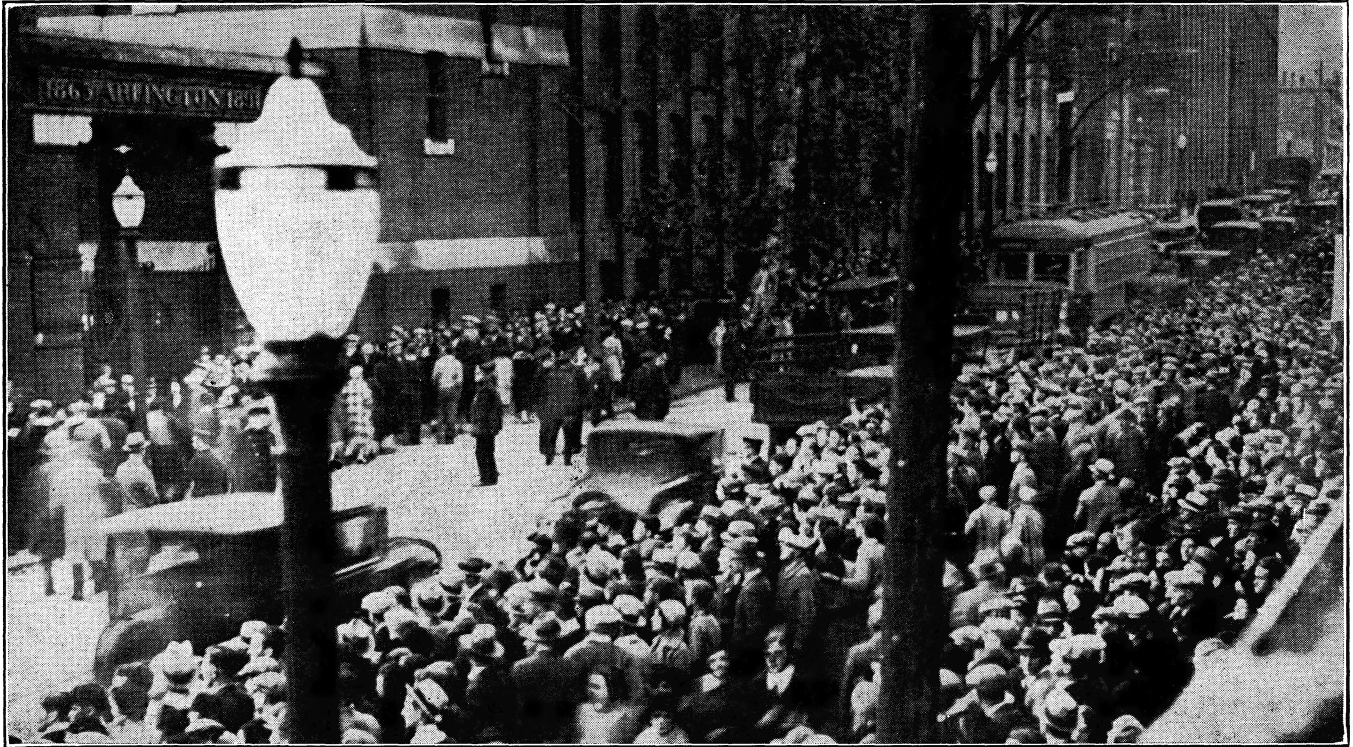
most meagre resources. We must deplore the fact that the unions were insufficiently drawn into the campaign on a real mass basis. In the face of a definite challenge to all American traditions of civil rights and the brazen attempt to popularize fascism, American liberals with a few notable exceptions failed to meet the test. Those who stood up to be counted and put their shoulders to the wheel in the face of the most powerful official pressure from the city, state and national government, realize that their task has been well done and that the way has been cleared for a permanent Anti-Fascist movement on a real united front basis.



From La Stampa Lebena.
New York City Welcomes Grandi

purpose of his visit to this country" was widely distributed.

On the following Sunday, the effigy of Grandi was hailed before a people's jury and placed on trial as a "criminal, a murderer, a robber, a pickpocket and an international public enemy," by G. Valenti, prosecuting attorney with Roger N. Baldwin as the presiding judge. On the basis of these charges, substantiated by a number of witnesses from the floor, and hailing with derisive laughter Carlo Tresca's plea that Grandi was no less respectable than Al Capone, De Vito or any other gunmen of note, the audience voted to execute the culprit immediately. The effigy was hanged from the balcony only to be carried off by the enthusiastic crowd which proceeded to burn the blackshirted figure in Union Square.



THE LAWRENCE STRIKE

By SAM BAKELY



The Workers Walk Out

THE strike of the 23,000 textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, has been broken. All the forces of the boss-controlled town were used to put down this revolt of workers, who were already notoriously underpaid, against a 10 per cent wage cut. The press, the police, the church and the numerous civic organizations united as one against them. Frame-ups, police brutalities, deportations, and the passive consent of the well-fed, respectable citizens have succeeded in driving down still further the wages of the half-starving textile workers.

In addition to the united front of the bosses, the Lawrence workers were handicapped by the lack of any real leadership from the United Textile Workers, the organization which was strongest in the field at the beginning of the strike, and by the divisive and confusing tactics of the "holy of holies," the Communist-lead National Textile Workers.

But before making further criticisms let us first consider the immediate cause of the strike and the groups involved. It was on October 4 that the mill bosses announced to the press of Lawrence that a 10 percent wage cut would take effect on October 13. This announcement was made without notifying the workers in any manner whatsoever.

The reaction was immediate and determined. Not waiting to finish the orders which were at hand, the workers in mill after mill walked out. In two days 23,000 from eleven mills had quit work. Seven of these mills, which were completely tied up, are the largest in Lawrence, and in New England. With the exception of the workers in the Pacific mills, controlled by the American Textile Workers Union, this walk-out was spontaneous, not being called officially by any union.

Horace Riviere, New England organizer for the United Textile Workers, it is true, had been doing organization work two months previous to the strike, and had succeeded in establishing functioning groups in the Shawshen, the Arlington, and the Monomac mills. (The first two of these mills are among the largest in Lawrence.) And through these groups the U.T.W. was able to get a considerable following—after the strike was on.

In the central part of the city of Lawrence is a large park, called the Common, which has been the rallying ground of the past great strikes of Lawrence. Here the U.T.W. secured

a permit to hold daily meetings. Although in most other things the U. T. W. failed to cooperate with the American Textile Workers, it did share its permit with this new organization and held joint meetings with them on the Common.

The American Textile Workers

The A.T.W. is an outgrowth of the National Textile Worker's strike last February. After that strike 12 of the active members of the N.T.W. split off and with the help of a local attorney formed the A.T.W. The reason they gave for leaving the N.T.W. is that they did not want to be a "kite-tail" to the Communist Party. They are concerned primarily with the problem of building a union which will get better conditions for the workers, they say, and feel that the N.T.W., with its "brains across the sea" program, could not or would not do this for them.

At its formation the A.T.W. went out of its way to emphasize its Americanism. It insisted with a good deal of heat that it was an American organization and made its appeal chiefly to Americans. This did not mean, however, that it stood for hundred percentism. It was a tactic made necessary by the Immigration Bureau of the Department of Labor which has been fol-

lowing the policy of deporting all alien leaders of strikes. Thus the N.T.W. strike in February of this year was broken by Doak's agent, Frank Chase, who arrested all the chief leaders and held them for deportation.

Since the recent strike, however, the officials of the A.T.W., who are workers in the mill and serve without pay, have spoken for redrafting the constitution of the union so that it will conform with the principles of militant, progressive, industrial unionism, but not cater to nationalistic or racial prejudices.

The U. T. W. and A. F. of L.

At the beginning of the strike the U.T.W. attempted to get control of the situation. It sent in Horace Riviere and Fernand Sylvia as organizers, and Francis J. Gorman, vice-president of the U.T.W., made frequent visits to Lawrence. In addition, William F. Green, president of the A. F. of L., sent in Alexander Marks, organizer, as his personal representative to assist the U.T.W.

These officials of the A. F. of L. appealed to the strikers on the ground that the U.T.W. was affiliated with the A. F. of L., the organized labor movement of America and as such could give them much greater help than other groups. Marks, in a speech, early in the strike, even assured the workers that if they showed that they "really mean business" they could depend upon the A. F. of L. "backing relief this winter."

Early in the strike "Red Mike" Shulman, Socialist Party organizer, Leonard J. Green and the writer, representative of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and a Philadelphia Socialist, came to Lawrence. These three at once assumed leadership of the picket lines and did other important strike work, cooperating with the U.T.W. and the A.T.W., since these were the organizations representing the mass of the strikers.

"Red Mike" did especially good work. He captured the imagination of the workers and imbued them with his own spirit of militancy and determination. The effectiveness of his work was soon demonstrated when the agents of the bosses kidnapped him. As a result of this kidnapping, Green with seven others, part of a group of 20 who went to Newburyport to investigate his whereabouts, were arrested and framed on charges of malicious destruction of property. Green was sentenced to a year in the house of correction and the other seven were sentenced to eight months each.

In addition to these three the strikers were also helped by Alfred Baker Lewis, secretary of the New England branch of the Socialist Party, and ministers and students sent by him who participated in the speaking and picketing. Lewis was also instrumental in raising bail for most of the strikers arrested.

Why Has The Strike Failed?

Why has the strike failed? Is it because of the depression which, according to some, makes it impossible to win a strike today? Or is it because of lack of leadership?

With the first point I will not deal. It is a very debatable question and readers of this are already familiar with most of the arguments. However, I will say that the success or failure of a strike is not determined merely by the success or failure to win demands. A strike may be a success when no demands are won, if the workers go back knowing that they have put up a good fight and are determined to try again. This requires honest, courageous and intelligent leadership, however, and it is on this point that I propose to criticize the Lawrence strike.

From the beginning the UTW officials made many promises to the workers which they not only failed to live up to but which in the opinion of some of the workers they did not intend to keep. For instance, if Marks was sincere in his promise, the workers argue, the A. F. of L. would have backed the strike with relief. Not a cent, however, came in from any of the Internationals affiliated with the A. F. of L. or from the A. F. of L. itself. Was this because the UTW did not make an appeal? As a matter of fact the UTW interfered with other unions in getting relief from nearby towns. It refused to cooperate in the United Action Relief plan, which was sponsored by the ATW. At least three-fourths of the relief that did come in, came from the Socialist Party, Workmen's Circle and United Hebrew Trades unions of New England.

Many of the workers felt that Frank Gorman, Vice-President of the UTW should have been in Lawrence much more frequently and that he left town without explanation at a critical time toward the end of the strike.

The Lawrence Building Trades Council is said to have sent a sarcastic letter to President McMahon of the UTW asking him why he had not appeared on the scene. To this no answer came. When Sylvia was asked

the same question by one of the strikers he said: "Did you ever see a General fighting in the front line trenches?" The striker who has never had any previous experience answered, "I may not have but by God that is the kind of Generals we need and want."

All during the strike the UTW officials in my opinion filled the workers with false enthusiasm and hopes. When the time came for a showdown, with no relief on hand and none in sight, the workers wanted to know how they stood and what they should do. The officials told them that they and not the UTW had called the strike and that it was up to them and not to the UTW itself to see about its close. The UTW had come only to give leadership—a leadership, it seems to me, without courage, which failed frankly to send the workers back after they knew that the strike was over. They failed moreover to tell the workers clearly and convincingly that they had put up a good fight and must struggle to keep up their organization after they return to work.

Although the National Textile Workers had around 40 "organizers" in the field they control only a few departments in the Wood mill and have about 700 followers. They are very vociferous in their condemnation of all other groups taking part in the strike although, actually, the part they played was that of strikebreakers. Of course they claim to have led all the militant picket lines, but what they did was to sabotage all of them. The only line they led was a small group in front of the Wood mill—but there is no use wasting more time and space on them.

The Ray of Hope

Here is the encouraging feature of the strike. The American Textile Workers, an industrial union based upon the mill unit, is holding its own. While it is not yet very anxious to get new members from mills other than the Pacific, it will take them in. I am convinced that once they know which way the strike in the Pacific mill goes they will start an organization campaign in the other mills. At present the Pacific is locked out. The management of the Pacific has given a list of the A.T.W. strikers to the American Woolen which will try to employ them and discharge its own workers. By doing this it hopes to create a surplus of non-union workers for the Pacific when it opens up.

The great need now is relief. Since the U.T.W. has been discredited by the workers and since the N.T.W. hasn't been able to do anything and since the

(Continued on Page 29)



Just Around the Corner

Rushing Headlong Toward Another War

By
J. B. MATTHEWS

I SEE the spectre of stark and tragic failure hovering over the World Disarmament Conference which meets at Geneva in February. That part of the American people which calls itself the peace movement refuses to admit that its efforts are too feeble to combat the grim forces of conflict which are rushing the nations headlong toward another planet-wide catastrophe of blood and fire. This peace movement is articulate through a large number of organizations which must raise their budgets, and there seems to be no legitimate course but to give their supporters a promisory note of "success." The question of sincerity is beside the point; the movement is sincere enough. It is cursed with the type of mentality that cannot associate failure with its interminable committee meetings, impressive letter-heads, and enlightening leaflets. It battens on the optimism that has given middle-class America its flabby soul.

The possibility that the nations will agree to a drastic cutting down of their armaments is precisely as great as the possibility that the American peace movement will take a wholesomely realistic view of the world in which it lives.

My fellow pacifists have some curious defects of vision. Most of them do not know a war when they see one. The Pact of Paris (better known as the Kellogg Pact) is partly responsible for these blind spots of the pacifists. In the Pact of Paris the nations "renounced war." Therefore whatever fighting is to be done must have new names such as "expeditions to curb banditry," "policing operations to protect American (or Japanese) lives and property," and "efforts to preserve law and order." Some pretty good sized wars can be sneaked in under these euphemisms.

All the existing and applicable treaties have been treated as scraps of paper by the Japanese army in Manchuria. The Kellogg Pact, the Nine Power Pacific Pact, and the Covenant of the League of Nations have been as effective in halting the Japanese

army as a musket in the hands of a lone Chinese bandit. It is even reported that the civil government in Tokio is powerless to control its army, and yet prominent American peace leaders have not grown weary in speaking of the "irresponsible" governments of China and Manchuria. The most irresponsible government on the international scene at the present time is that of Japan—utterly irresponsible in its solemn international undertakings.

"But Manchuria is a land of bandits," say many in their attempt to find extenuating circumstances for the imperialists of Japan. "The great Chang Tso Lin began his career as a bandit," they say. May I be so impertinent as to ask what Power was glad enough to use Chang Tso Lin as its tool for many years and then send him to his death by dynamiting his train when he showed signs of disobedience? All the world knows the answer to that question. The Japanese government has been alternately the paymaster of bandits and the protector of Japanese lives and property against them.

So Japan has a responsible government! O yeah?

The prevailing standards of international responsibility are indicated in the manner in which the other nations have dealt with Japan's War in Manchuria. All of them are signatories of at least two treaties in which they have pledged their support to China in the event of just such an aggression as Japan's. Yet all of them have temporized with Japan and failed to speak emphatically on the clear violations of the treaties to which they are parties. The effect has been to discredit the peace treaties and machinery at a time when they have been most seriously challenged. Such an opportunity has been lost that it becomes daily more doubtful whether the General Conference on Disarmament will even go through the motions of convening.

Serious as the threat to peace is in the Far East at the moment, it is not one whit more serious than the numerous threats to peace in other parts of the world, particularly in Europe. Europe is a seething volcano, ready

to erupt at any moment. Five special areas of trouble may be noted in the European scene, any one of them alone constituting a barrier to the peaceful settlement of outstanding problems.

(1) Futile and inexcusable as was the Labor Government of England, it is probably true that the present Government—the crowning achievement of the great labor leader, Ramsay MacDonald—is much worse in the field of international relations. There is every reason to expect an increase in the ruthless suppression of the movement for Indian freedom. The overwhelming Tory majority of the present government will tolerate a lot of the rhetoric for which MacDonald is famous, but it will permit no genuine move to give to the millions of India their freedom from the yoke of British servitude. . . . Already the protective tariff policies of the new British regime have aggravated the international situation. . . . Incidentally the pound sterling which they promised to save has dropped steadily downward on the international exchange since the Tory tariff victory. . . . There will be less and less of an inclination to effect a rapprochement with the U. S. S. R. . . . England's troubles have just begun, and both for the working masses of the country and also for the world outside, the recent election results must be considered a major tragedy.

(2) Internationally, Italy is at present in a peculiar position. The swash-buckling Mussolini and the ruthless Grandi have become the great voices of "liberalism" on the European Continent. Twenty-four months ago they were rattling the sabre. Today they are proclaiming the need for disarmament as a prelude to security, and the necessity of revision of the post-war settlements. The essence of Italian policy is "anti-French." The only way to be anti-French is to adopt a liberal attitude on armaments and reparations. It is also a good way of currying favor with the powerful government of the United States.

Notwithstanding this right-about-face of Mussolini, there is no reason to believe that a real conversion has

taken place. The iron hand will continue to beat down the Italian working class. In any coming conflict which ranges the forces of a dying order against those of the new working class freedom, the full weight of Italian Fascism will be on the side of the exploiters.

(3) The present French policy may be summed up as the determination to rule or ruin on the European Continent. That unhappy nation has been whipped into a nationalistic frenzy against disarmament or any other attempt to readjust the post-war arrangements which keep Europe in turmoil. The breaking-up of a great international peace meeting in Paris the other day was not the act of a small group of irresponsible hoodlums, but the deliberate program of a large section of the country. The capitalistic press was unanimous in its approval of the rioters. Francois Coty, who made a fortune in the manufacture of cosmetics, is the greatest international criminal at large today. His papers, Figaro and L'Ami Du Peuple, are red-baiting, frenziedly nationalistic organs of the French ruling class.

There are some prospects of a radical change in the character of the French government as a result of the next elections, but a lot of harm can be done before those elections are held, and even their promise is still uncertain. American public opinion is largely ignorant of the mentality of the present French Government, and one of the most tragic acts of the Hoover Administration was to give the Laval Government a "free hand" in European matters—as though there were any such matters in a highly interdependent world community.

(4) At the very center of Europe's prospects for peace or war lies the German situation. The brutal fact of post-war Europe is that there has really been no peace since the "armistice." Whether the weapons have been the conventional arms of battle or not, makes little difference. A relentless war has been waged against the German people who now stand on the verge of revolution, civil war, and complete economic collapse. If Germany collapses, there can be no local-

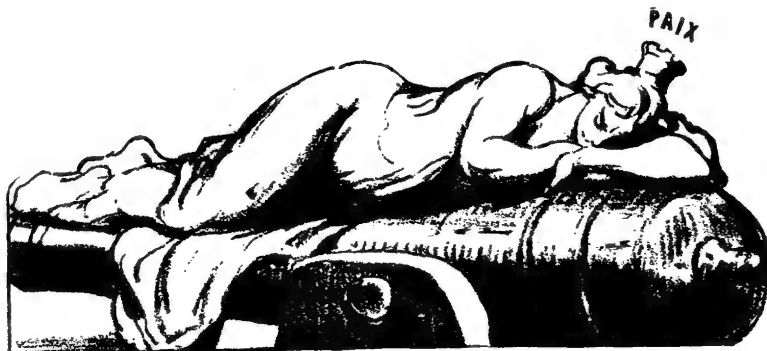
izing of the tragedy. It is certain to engulf most of the continent.

A fascist rule of the Hitler variety is one of the sure developments during the coming months in Germany. Already a fascist regime has been set up under the chancellorship of Bruening—with the support of the Social Democrats. The German Republic has already disappeared. When the Hitler rule comes, there will be a determined attack upon his position by the parties of the "left." In the event of such a civil war, there can be no doubt that

permanent peace in Europe, to say nothing of disarmament, without a genuine rapprochement between the U. S. S. R. and the rest of the Powers. At present there is no prospect for such a rapprochement. In the Manchurian War, the interests of the U. S. S. R. are paramount. Certainly the three Powers most involved are China, Japan, and Russia. Yet the latter has been left out of the councils of the nations who are half-heartedly deliberating on the Far Eastern Crisis. This augurs no good for the future of peace. Meanwhile, the governing class of the United States goes on its stupid way of ignoring the very existence of the U.S.S.R.

One of the most important questions confronting the working class of the United States is: Where will labor stand in the event of the general world war? Will it follow the "patriotic" Green who reviews the troops at West Point and the red-baiting Woll, or will

it join forces with those who are determined to resist to the limit any American government that embarks upon the folly of another war? The time to answer that question is now! Admittedly, a first-class war would appear to be an excellent cure for depression and unemployment, but in the long (but not too long) run the burdens of war will crush the working class. Organized war-resistance is one of the most important services the working class of this country can perform for itself and civilization.



Drawn by Daumier

Peace

the present ruling class of France will throw its support to German Fascism—strange as that may seem to some—since class interests will draw together these apparently hostile groups when they are confronted by a real threat from a militant working class.

No amount of tinkering with the financial position of Germany by the international bankers will now suffice to prevent decisive internal struggle between the decadent and tottering capitalism of the Reich on the one hand and the rising proletariat on the other.

(5) There can be no effective and

NEW YORK LABOR SCHOOL

Louis B. Boudin, noted Marxian writer, author of "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx" will open a series of 12 lectures on "The Marxian Point of View" beginning Tuesday, February 2. The course is intended for serious students of the class struggle, and offers a splendid opportunity for individual research and training in this field. The fee for the entire course is \$2.50, with special terms to unemployed workers.

"English For Workers," a course to fit foreign born workers to be more effective in the American labor movement, is the title of a course now being

given by Lucile Kohn. Instruction includes training in public speaking, writing and correction of foreign accent. The fee for the course is \$2.00, with special rates to unemployed workers.

FORUM ACTIVITIES

On November 29, Carlo Tresca gave a very interesting talk on "Fascism—Its International Significance." This talk wound up the local anti-fascist campaign in connection with the visit of Dino Grandi.

On December 6, Upton Close, noted writer and lecturer on the Orient, spoke on "The Manchurian Crisis."

"The Best Strike Paterson Ever Had"

By WORKER
CORRESPONDENTS

PATERSON, New Jersey, "the silk city," has had a rich experience in industrial warfare. Since 1828, more than a hundred years ago, when the first strike of factory workers in the United States was declared in this city on swamps and bogs, the Paterson textile workers have been receiving education in the class struggle in one industrial war after another. This tradition of struggle has created a strong sentiment for organization. A minority of silk workers have hung together more tenaciously here than any industrial group in any other place in the country.

But of all the strikes Paterson has had, according to many of the old timers who went through the 1931, 1919, 1924 and 1928 strikes, the one this past summer has been "the best." It has "brought back the old spirit to the workers," says Joseph Brooks, former organizer for the Associated Silk Workers. "It has given them new courage and new hope."

"Sorry I had to go back to work," said Anthony Cervillo. "The strike was a lot of fun for workers who have to work long hours and, then, can't make enough to live."

"There has been better leadership, more militantly and courageously displayed in this than in the strikes of the past," asserts Jack Neary, secretary of the relief committee. Worker Neary has grown old in "the silk."

Much of the militancy of this strike was due to the participation of the young workers who played an especially active part. These young workers, among whom were Harry Allison, Chairman of the Doherty Mill strikers, William Hulihan, Geo. H. Anthony, Marnius Van Estenbridge and Ray Morgan, picket captains, with their enthusiasm and freshness, have revived the spirit of the older workers and given them new courage. All during the strike these young people could be found early in the frosty mornings marching in picket lines. They went to jail singing; they put shame and fear into those who were potential scabs; and now many of them are walking the streets hungry, without jobs, but they are still enthusiastic.

The tactics and policies of the strike followed out by Louis F. Budenz, strike leader and representative of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, expressed the sentiment of the rank and file. This was proven when the workers voted unanimously to retain Budenz as organizer. These policies were:

First, that under no circumstances should there be any let up on mass picketing. The spirit of solidarity gained in this way on the picket line could not be broken by arrests or threats.

Second, that the police should be dealt with firmly but with courtesy. (Many of the Paterson police are brothers or husbands of the mill workers.) The business of calling names or of engaging in arguments with the police was avoided in so far as possible. Picket leaders were thoroughly familiar with their legal rights under existing city and state laws and insisted upon these rights being observed. Thus when there was any violence the public held the police responsible and not the workers.

The effectiveness of this tactic is demonstrated further by the fact that of the more than 700 arrests made during the strike not one fine has had to be paid by the union. This, of course, is partly due to the background of Paterson, but a large share of the credit must go to the method of handling the police and the courts.

Third, that the leaders should go out on the picket lines whenever it became necessary to maintain the spirit of the workers, and that they should go to jail with the workers. Budenz was arrested six times on charges ranging from assaulting a police officer in Clifton to wrecking an automobile. Time after time he went to jail. But although the bosses tried in every way to frame him for his militancy he came free each time because of lack of evidence.

Fourth, that the strike should be given the widest possible publicity. Strike news, written by Budenz, who has the experience of more than 40 strikes to go on, was sent to the papers daily. Even after the General Strike was officially called off, strike and un-

ion news appeared on the front pages of the Paterson papers.

In carrying out this policy the CPLA cooperated in every possible way. Warren C. Montross was kept on the picket lines seeing that the policy set down should be carried out. Gizella I. Budenz was in charge of the women's work, and by her enthusiasm and militancy succeeded in keeping down all conservative opposition which might discourage the workers.

As has been pointed out in previous articles in *LABOR AGE*, this strike once more demonstrates the correctness of the CFLA policy. It is the organization which can best function on the industrial field today when the workers are divided into so many warring factions.

The Socialist Party gained considerable good will by the arrest of Norman Thomas at the John Hand Mill and by the assistance given by the Striker's Emergency Relief and the Jewish Daily Forward. Still the S. P. is linked in the minds of the workers with the "cockroach manufacturers." Thus, just before the elections, three candidates on the local S. P. ticket were expelled from the Party, under pressure from the workers, as manufacturers who had operated scab shops throughout the strike. The weakness of the S. P. in allowing exploiters of labor to be members and even prominent members of the party was never shown more clearly.

The Communist Party (Majority Group) cooperated very effectively on the picket line, particularly through Sasha Zimmerman, but this group suffers from the double disadvantage of being Communist and not being Communists. Although they were active during the entire period of the strike, yet they have succeeded in gaining very little hold on the workers.

Some Socialist Labor Party members, in the ranks of the workers, were also quite active in the strike. But the S.L.P. is looked upon by the majority of the workers as having shot its bolt, and it is no longer taken seriously.

(Continued on Page 29)

The C. P. L. A.

THE Conference for Progressive Labor Action brings militant workers together for study and action. It is an organization which tries to root itself in the American soil; to face the realities of American life; to help the workers in their daily struggles for bread and justice, against injunctions, yellow-dog contracts and official brutality, to inspire them to take control of industry and government, to abolish the present capitalist system and build a workers' republic and an economic system operated for the benefit of the masses and not of the few.

Such an organization of militants is badly needed in America today and no existing organization or group, we feel, fills the bill, though in many or all of them there are healthy and vigorous elements. Without going into any criticism here of other groups, we face the fact that they have not succeeded in building an effective labor movement, that many militants cannot work enthusiastically in these groups, and that many belonging to these groups are not satisfied.

In the face of terrific obstacles, we must try to build a labor movement in America—industrial, political, cooperative and educational. As always, the real work will have to be shouldered by a minority. These active spirits, to be effective, must know each other, must train themselves to do real work, must plan and act together and not in a haphazard fashion. C. P. L. A. is the organization which will make this possible. Let us explain a little further what this means.

A Political Organization?

Yes, an organization of militants such as C. P. L. A. is; from one point of view, a political organization. It is a "party" in the sense in which Trotsky once used that word. "What else," he wrote, "is an active minority held together by unity of conceptions if not a party?"

This does not mean that C. P. L. A. has any immediate idea of putting up candidates in elections for dog-catcher or president. As we explain later, we want to help form a mass labor-party and to serve as a left-wing element within that. Of course, if some day a large number of C. P. L. A. members and sympathizers lived in a certain locality, had no labor party in

A Positive Statement of Program and Action

By A. J. MUSTE



which to serve and believed that something might be gained by running candidates of their own, the organization might approve such a course. But this is not what we are most excited about.

In fact, we have a good deal of sympathy with industrial unionists and syndicalists. We agree with them that the industrial struggles of the workers are of the first importance, and we are in hearty accord with their fervent revolutionary spirit.

We believe that parliamentary democracy is everywhere breaking down. It was designed for a simple agricultural condition in the eighteenth century: it doesn't work in the twentieth. We think that any one who assures the workers that they can get a new social order by enrolling more and more votes for a labor or socialist ticket until they have a majority and can vote a new regime into being, is probably fooling them. If people were really free, if there were no economic masters on whom others must depend for a chance to work, if the avenues of education and agitation were really open, then the only thing to do would be to persuade people gradually to accept the best economic measure. But in America today people are perfectly free to think, to learn, to vote as they please, to organize, provided only they are perfectly willing to lose their jobs, to see their families suffer privation, to get beaten up, jailed and killed. Under these conditions, workers must be taught that political democracy must be used for what it is worth, but that it has become a sham and may betray them if they are not on the watch. We must teach the workers to build up their power as a class on every front and especially on the job in mine, mill, factory, office and store.

We do not believe in political activity even of the labor or socialist sort as an alternative to organization and strike activity on the industrial field. We believe there is something seriously wrong in a city where people vote labor or socialist, and yet where there is no militant union movement and no organization among the

workers in the basic industries. Political activity, in order to be working-class, must grow out of the industrial struggle. The chief business of a left wing working class political group is not to get votes but to inspire the workers to militant efforts to organize and fight the boss.

Nevertheless, we cannot be altogether non-political. In the first place, we must have clear ideas as to where we are going and how to get there. We must know why we organize and fight the boss. We must have a labor philosophy. In the second place, government power today is in the hands of the boss and his agents. We cannot ignore government. We have to take control of it and use it for labor ends. All this is in the field of labor political activity.

We Believe

If C. P. L. A. is an "active minority held together by unity of conceptions," what are these fundamental ideas that hold us together?

First, we accept the fact of the class struggle under the capitalist economic system, where some, a few, own the machines and the country's resources and its government, and others must serve these few. The interests of masters and slaves are different and cannot be reconciled.

Second, we want to abolish this capitalist system, with its war of classes, its monstrous inequalities, its unemployment, its inability in the very midst of abundance to give the masses the necessities of life.

Third, we want to establish instead a planned economic system, operated in the interests of all. Instead of the sham democracy we now know we want to build a republic of the workers, by the workers, for the workers in America, to be united with workers' republics all over the world.

Fourth, we think of the Russian revolution as the great turning point in modern history. We are for Soviet Russia and against its capitalist and imperialist enemies. We think that any labor or socialist party which does not clearly take this stand belies its name.

Fifth, we aim to build up the power of the working-class in America. We do not believe it will get anything which it cannot take.

Sixth, we want to be realistic in the way we go at our job and we want American labor to be realistic. What do we mean by that? For one thing, that our movement must win first of all the American or Americanized worker. We must talk to him in his own language. We must start with the conditions which he faces here in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Seattle, not the conditions somebody else faces in London, Berlin or Moscow. We mean that the American labor movement must take its orders from American workers. With capitalism organized and fighting labor all over the world, the labor movement must also be international, but the American section will have to be built by the courage, solidarity and brains of American workers. Nobody else can do the job here, any more than we can do the job somewhere else.

By "realistic" we mean that C. P. L. A. wants to work with the masses of workers, wants to win their confidence by helping in their daily struggles, as we have in Paterson, Lawrence, West Virginia, North Carolina, among the Brooklyn Edison workers. We want to avoid the mistake of trying to domineer over the workers, trying to "capture" and then wreck their unions, for example.

We believe that labor must use the methods which suit the occasion, and must not marry itself to a dream or a formula as to how it must gain its ends. We have already said that we do not believe labor can rely on the ballot box chiefly in order to win its freedom. That is a dangerous dream. Those who talk glibly of "civil war" in the United States of America today are also having a foolish dream. Let us not fool ourselves—if a major crisis were to develop in the United States with the labor movement in its present condition, there wouldn't be even a healthy gesture in the direction of a working-class revolution. Yet already the economic system is severely shaken, and we must lose no time in building labor-power to be used, as labor sees fit, to achieve labor's goal.

A Mass Labor Party

As we have already stated, C. P. L. A. wants to help build a mass labor party based on the industrial organizations of the workers. We want to work loyally within such a party to keep it headed straight toward the goal of a new and class-less social order.

We want to see a mass labor party even though we have no illusions as

to what the ballot can do for us—Why?

Because a labor party may be the means of getting American workers out of the habit of voting for the Republican and Democratic tickets, and that habit must be broken. Because it is still possible that certain gains for the workers may be made through independent political action, as e. g., unemployment insurance, curbing of injunctions, raising taxes on the big incomes, etc., and just as workers formed craft unions before industrial ones, they will try to see how far they can go with the ballot before they will discard that method. We think this is still true, even though Americans undoubtedly for the moment are inclined to think all politics is a racket.

Furthermore, next to an organizing campaign or strike, an election campaign still is the best chance for mass workers' education.

Our members try to build labor parties, therefore, but they will insist that however moderate a labor party's program at the outset, it must be genuinely labor and farmer in composition, not "labor faker" or liberal. The class composition of a party counts for more than its paper program. Labor can be trusted eventually to hammer out a sound program, because conditions will force it, and especially if the militant minority is alive and intelligent. But assorted liberals will never get anywhere even with the finest program.

We Want Action

The C. P. L. A. has always, however, centered its attention chiefly on industrial action, and that we shall continue to do. We believe that unless the workers on the job are awake and active, are willing to organize or at best to fight for organization, there is no real labor movement.

Our activity on the industrial field deals, on the one hand, with existing unions and, on the other hand, with unorganized workers who are still without unions.

In existing unions our members promote progressive policies. They try to make and keep their unions militant, depending for their power on the solidarity of the workers and not on favors from the boss. They are for industrial as against craft unions. They fight against exclusiveness and sectarianism in unions, insisting that young and old, men and women, skilled and unskilled, white and colored must be admitted to unions on equal terms and regardless of their religious, political or economic beliefs.

C. P. L. A. members and publications expose the graft and racketeering which is all too common in many unions today. They seek to rally the unions for resistance against all acts of repression and Fascism and for the defense of labor and class-war prisoners. They expose and combat militarism and imperialism. They promote social insurance measures. They lead in educational activities in the unions as well as among the unorganized.

We have set forth on other occasions our attitude toward the American Federation of Labor and A. F. of L. unions, but it may be well to sum the matter up again briefly. We are strongly opposed to the present leadership of the A. F. of L. and to many of its policies. We mean to do our best to change them. We do not believe, however, in a general policy of dual unionism nor in smashing existing unions. We think it is important that we have a unified trade union movement if possible. We do not think that if, as a progressive or radical you fail to win a union to your program, you have helped matters any by smashing that union, or leaving it alone if you can't smash it, while you gather a minority who agree with your views into an organization. Such an organization may be a propaganda club, it is not a union.

We believe there are cases where only an independent union can meet the needs and desires of the workers. In such cases we are all for an independent union rather than no union at all! But we insist that it must not be a sectarian body, but a genuine mass organization of and for the workers in the given industry.

The Big Job

In America, however, the problem of the unorganized workers is much bigger than that of the organized. Only about 10 per cent of our gainfully occupied population is in unions. Very few of these are in such big basic industries as steel, textiles, coal, automobiles, oil. To help the millions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in these industries, who work under company union or open shop conditions, often for starvation wages and shockingly long hours, whose every effort to organize is met by injunctions, yellow-dog contracts, spies, thugs and police—to help these millions to organize or at least to fight for organization, decent standards and freedom, that is the biggest job before militants in the United States today. That is the job in which C. P. L. A.

is most interested. Our leaders and our members are to be found on the picket line wherever the industrial struggle is waged.

Where unions or groups of workers are ready to organize and fight, we jump in and help in any possible way—with organizing work, picket duty, relief, publicity, recreation, education, research. Thus C. P. L. A.'ers stood by the textile workers of Marion, N. C., in their heroic struggle in 1929 in which six strikers were wantonly shot to death by so-called officers of the law, and C. P. L. A. is still carrying on in Marion and vicinity. We helped the miners of the Kanawha Valley organize the West Virginia Mine Workers Union, aided in their strike last summer, and are now helping them to maintain their union and to launch a labor party. We brought about an amalgamation of several silk workers' unions in Paterson, N. J., last summer, by official invitation of the amalgamated unions helped lead a successful general strike, and are still at work helping to maintain the union and to build an autonomous national federation of silk workers within the

U. T. W. of A. We aided in the recent Lawrence strike and are now working with the progressive elements among the workers there in an effort to build the union. We led in organizing the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employees which is carrying on a fight against that huge public utility which may serve as a model for union organization in all similar situations. We went to the aid of one thousand Westchester Company construction laborers in their strike last summer and are now carrying on educational work among these men.

We do not believe, however, in waiting passively until the workers move. Everywhere our members and organizers go, they preach the gospel of unionism and seek to inspire and educate the workers for action. Thus some of our men are quietly "digging in" in the steel centers, carrying on workers' education, developing groups to lead a movement for organization when the time is ripe.

If you are a militant worker, industrial, clerical, agricultural, technical, professional, and if you want to

work along the lines we have pointed out to abolish the capitalist system and to build a better world for the workers, and if you do not already belong to a group or party which seems to you fully to meet the needs in America today, then you belong in C. P. L. A. If you agree with our aims and activities and want to help but cannot be an active worker, then you ought to join us as a cooperator.

There is an endless amount of work in America, the stronghold of capitalism and imperialism for such an organization as C.P.L.A.—an organization of militants, for militants and by militants, which talks to American workers in their own language about their own problems, which brings them help and inspiration in their daily struggles with the boss, which seeks in every way and on every front to build up the power of the workers so that they may take control of industry and government, abolish the system which makes cannon-fodder out of them in time of war and machine-fodder in time of peace, and build a sane and just economic system and a workers' republic.

The Task Before the Socialist Labor Party in Germany

By
LUDWIG LORE

THE political situation in Germany has advanced beyond the realms of speculation. The recent State election in Hessa has made it clear to even the most stubborn supporter of German republicanism that the days of democratic rule in that country are counted. Representatives of the German Republic here are already preparing American governmental circles for the coming change, and are themselves setting their sails to weather the storm. Meanwhile the inexorable voice of public opinion will force Bruening to include the victorious Fascist and nationalist elements in his government and by that token, to shake off the last remnants of a defunct democracy that still clings to his regime.

In the Hessian election of November 14, the National Socialists (National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei) united 291,000 votes on their candidates, as compared to 138,000 in the Reichstag election of September 1930. The Social Democratic Party, which, in the Reichstag election of

1930 polled 215,000 votes, emerged from the present struggle for supremacy in Hessa with 186,000 votes, its losses having chiefly benefited the Communist Party which experienced an astounding increase from 85,000 to 107,000. Besides the Nazis and the Communists, the Centre (Catholic) Party was the only party that recorded election gains.

This produces a situation that is the inevitable precursor of important political developments, for the elections to the Landtag will ultimately determine the make-up of the new government, by its power, in each state, to appoint the representative to the Reichrat, the upper House of the German Parliament.

Public opinion will demand that the parties hitherto excluded from governmental responsibility be given adequate representation. In the Hessian Landtag with its 70 deputies, the Hitlerites have 27 representatives, (one in the old Landtag) while the Centre has 10, and 6 other bourgeois parties one each. This opens up two possibilities—a gov-

ernment of the united capitalist parties (Nationalists, Centre and the remaining fragments of bourgeois political ideology) or a government controlled by Social Democrats (15 deputies) Communists (10) and the Center (10)—two possibilities of which the latter is too fantastic to be seriously considered.

The Centre will not hesitate long before it takes the decisive step. The reception of Hugenberg by Bruening and of Hitler by Hindenburg were not mere accidents. Quite the contrary. These circles have been waiting for months for a favorable opportunity to make their peace with the Harzburg (united Fascist) front, and to bid a glad farewell to their old ally, the Social Democracy. Whatever doubt there may have been after the elections of Hamburg, Mecklenburg and Anhalt have been effectually dispelled by the new Hessian victory of the Fascist forces. Today the Centre, restive under the unnatural dominance of the Social Democracy and the numerically weak Democratic Party (until recently

Staats Partei) knows that the Prussian Landtag session to be called in December will bring the defection of the Volkspartei into the Hugenberg-Hitler camp, placing the Braun regime before new difficulties. The Prussian Landtags election which is to take place in May 1922, would in any event have sealed the doom of the Social Democratic-Centre coalition in that State. As in Hessa, this unnatural political marriage is irrevocably on the rocks, the Hessian election having but served to bring the entire situation to a premature crisis.

In this hour, so fraught with significance for the entire German people, but above all for its working masses with their political, trade union and co-operative movements, the latter face decisions of incalculable import. It would seem that all differences and hatreds must needs vanish before the overwhelming menace of fascist nationalism gone mad, to give way to a new epoch of united opposition on the part of a politically schooled working class against Fascism and its open and secret supporters. But the outlook for such a union is anything but bright. By its recent cooperation with Fascist elements in the national referendum for the dissolution of the Prussian Landtag, the Communist Party of Germany obliterated the clear line of political demarcation between itself and the Hitler Nazis, and in the eyes of the public identified itself with them.

The Social Democratic Party, on the other hand, with its disastrous "toleration policy," has made itself even more directly responsible for the overthrow of some of the most cherished achievements of the German working class, for only its unshaken support of the Bruening policies made the wage cuts and the reductions in social insurance possible. The Social Democratic Party, after disarming the German worker, has delivered him, helpless and defenseless, into the clutches of Bruening and his industrialist backers, and in so doing, has given to the very Fascists it purports to combat, an open road. Thus, by their past mistakes, the labor parties of Germany have built up an insuperable barrier to effective and united resistance, while the bitterness that divides the great organized working class groups has assumed such proportions that not even a Fascist coup d'etat can bring them together. Certainly not under the leadership of either of the two existing parties.

In this seemingly hopeless situation the appearance of a new factor on the political scene seems to offer the only

ray of hope, though at the first glance it may seem to still further complicate an already desperate situation. This new factor is the creation of the Socialist Labor Party to which we have already briefly referred in the last issue of LABOR AGE. Called into being about two months ago by the expulsion of the leaders of the Social Democratic opposition from that party for their refusal to condone what they considered a wholesale betrayal of working class interests, this new party has already drawn large numbers of those disaffected ex-party members into its ranks, whom valuable intelligent workers in the cause of labor though they were, the two major parties had from time to time catapulted off into political oblivion in their mad hurtling through German post-war life. The very fact that the S.D.P. and the C.P.D. press, far from ignoring this new 'political monstrosity', devoted columns daily to its destruction, would seem to indicate that the claims to continued success of the Socialist Labor Party are well founded. Certainly no new party can hope to establish itself in the German labor movement unless it can cope with the herculean task of bringing back into a new political alignment those class conscious men and women who have left the old parties in disgust and discouragement. For, however great the number of those may be who against their better judgment still remain in one or the other of the two old parties these cannot be immediately counted on to supply the back-bone of this new venture. They will come, but only when and after it has proven its right to existence.

If straws show which way the wind blows, this assurance is already given. There are, for instance, the two independent ex-socialist groups, those die-hards that remained intact after the Independent Social Democratic Party, which grouped itself about Liebknecht and Luxemburg at the close of the war, returned to the mother fold. Neither of these groups is numerically important, but each stands on a program of constructive revolutionary action, the one behind the old war-horse Georg Ledebour, the other behind Theodor Liebknecht, brother of Karl, both respected and beloved in the German labor movement.

What has been impossible hitherto—to bring these two exponents of socialist revolutionary ideology together—the S.L.P. seems to have accomplished, evidently without particular effort on its own part. But of greater import-

ance still, because of greater moment for the organization of the new movement, is the fact that a not inconsiderable portion of the right-Communist "Brandler" group has come out in favor of working together with the new S.L.P. after the majority had refused to take action in this direction. The leaders of this group, the Comrades Froehlich and Walcher, are well known in American labor circles, the former as the founder and first organizer of the Spartakus Bund, the most intimate co-operator of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, and the historian of the war and post-war revolutionary epoch in which these two found their tragic end; the latter as the labor union expert of the German communist movement, whose conflict with the Comintern and the Red Trade Union International ended in an open rupture on the "split the trade unions" issue.

The theoreticians of that group, Brandler and Thalheimer, both of whom are still strongly disposed in the direction toward Moscow, will sooner or later effect their return to the official Communist movement, once they have rid themselves of Froehlich and Walcher, both of whom enjoyed the particular hatred of the communist leadership. The recognized ability of these men as organizers and propagandists, and their years of experience should make them a valuable asset to the new movement, the importance of which can hardly be overestimated. If the S.L.P. of Germany can succeed in gathering the enormous energies that lie latent in the German proletariat into an army against Fascism and the German industrialists that stand behind it, it will become that proletarian factor with which the German bourgeoisie has long since ceased to reckon, the revolutionary leader of a united working class.

Harlan Needs Relief

With the acquittal of William Barnett, there still remain 42 defendants indicted for murder by the coal barons of Harlan, Kentucky. Funds for defense should be forwarded at once to the Kentucky Miners' Defense and Relief Conference, P. O. Box 109, Station D, New York, N. Y.

Left Opposition

in the Labor and Socialist International

By D. J. SAPOSS

A SMALL minority in the Fourth Congress of the Labor and Socialist International held in Vienna from July 4-August 1, led by the British Independent Labor Party took issue with the overwhelmingly majority. The differences were not so much over fundamental principles as over the mode of procedure. The minority demanded more positive, energetic and uncompromising action in the attempt of the socialists to cope with the present world ailments. Its spokesmen maintained that economic conditions are ripe for Socialism, and that the International should therefore direct its forces for the immediate overthrow of capitalism. Instead of taking this positive position the majority favors temporizing. This is a falacious attitude, the Socialist movement must tell the people that capitalism cannot be stabilized and that the world cannot be saved by capitalist devices.

The opposition further demanded that the International state definitely that its program of action means "a declaration of uncompromising war on capitalism." It wanted the International to emphasize the urgent need of the workers to rally around the "socialist movement in order to achieve International Socialism." Hence it is imperative that the International unequivocally reject the present "policy of toleration and of cooperation with capitalist parties, because such a policy 'always results in maintaining the principles of the capitalist system.'"

As for democracy, the opposition also wants to safeguard it. But bourgeois democracy is a sham. When it is evident that Socialism is the only remedy it is not worth saving a democracy in which socialist parties only collaborate with capitalism. In this connection the opposition also called attention to the fact that Fascism has grown side by side with coalition governments in which socialists participated. Thus the dilatory procedure of the majority socialists is enabling the reactionary forces to entrench themselves. Consequently when the majority says it will resort to force only if obstructionist tactics are resorted to by the capitalists and the reactionary forces, it is

only waiting until the harm is done before it acts. As conditions stand now, slow going democracy involves the workers in suffering and their leaders in shifty compromises. From a revolutionary point of view, democracy means meeting the situation and not running away from it by forming coalitions with bourgeois governments.

One of the chief spokesmen for the opposition ended by proclaiming, "that the only way out of the present situation is to raise the banner for a new social order, and if that is done Socialism will be gotten without a catastrophe."

In similar terms the minority attacked the attitude of the majority on war and disarmament. It asserted that the dangers of war were greater now than at any time since the peace treaties were signed. Moreover, it had no confidence in the League of Nations or the Geneva Disarmament Commission, since they are dominated by the imperialistic powers. What the international socialist movement must do is to appeal to the workers and not to governments. It must take the position that socialists cannot support any war. There must be no compromise with war any more than there must be compromise with capitalist parties in parliament. Socialists must always vote against military credits, and when they come in control of government they must set the example by disarming. If in the attempt to carry out such a program political action fails, then the workers must unhesitatingly resort to organized force. The International must take the position that if another war occurs the workers will destroy capitalism. With that end in view the workers must be prepared to stretch arms across the frontiers in case of war and definitely win power for themselves.

The Congress was unevenly divided in voting strength. On all divisions the majority overwhelmingly outvoted the opposition. All the old and outstanding leaders were on the side of the majority, whereas the minority leaders consisted of some of the well known newer and, par consequence, younger men in the movement. This left opposition in the Socialist Inter-

national has just appeared and was not well organized. Also, because of the provision making it possible for delegations to resort to the unit rule it is difficult to estimate its exact strength. This factor is illustrated by the procedure of the American delegation. Although a militant minority presented its view in delegation meetings, the entire delegation is recorded as voting with the majority.

The difference between the majority and opposition is one that has agitated the radical movements since their advent. Hence in the debates the fundamental issue was between cautious and slow vs. energetic and forceful procedure in order to remedy conditions and to attain socialism. The overwhelming majority counselled moderation and cooperation with the democratic and bourgeois liberal elements, working at the same time for a gradual introduction of socialism. To them the need of checkmating Fascism was the chief concern since democracy is the vehicle upon which socialism will gradually reach its aspired goal. The small minority, on the other hand, demanded militant action that would primarily wage battle on the enemy, capitalism, instead of using up too much energy in cooperating with the uncertain capitalist forces no matter how liberal and democratic they may be. And instead of only resisting the advance of Fascism through manoeuvres, they would immediately wage battle on the entire front, since fascism is but a foil of capitalism.

It would seem that both elements favor aggressive action. The majority, however, emphasizes militancy in defense of gains already made by labor, as well as in defense of democracy and against fascism and dictatorship. In contrast to the defensive militancy of the majority, the minority stresses the need of an offensive against capitalism by initiating an immediate struggle for the rapid achievement of Socialism. It is for this reason that they are opposed to Socialists participating in coalition governments, in placing faith in the League of Nations, in agitating and petitioning against war, and in trusting liberal, capitalistic and democratic elements.

TYRANNY IN IRELAND

By PATRICK L. QUINLAN



IN passing the Constitution Amendment Act or Coercion Bill, the Irish Free State Legislature in audacity, speed and thoroughness set an example to the capitalist law making bodies throughout the world. No native legislature in times of peace or war ever passed a code in which there was outlined so much tyranny, oppression and abuse of power in one bill with such expressed haste as did the Dublin parliament a few weeks ago. I doubt if the record can be matched by an alien, imperialist and conquering legislature in its doings with small and oppressed nationalities. Even the late Czar, before he issued an ukase, or the British satraps, before they issued their orders in council, took a little time and went through the form of respecting custom by consulting or debating before launching their death dealing liberty destroying pieces of paper.

Not so with the Dublin parliament. It spent one day discussing the length of time the members would have debating the proposed measure and it spent two days talking on the actual measure itself. The closure was put over with speed and precision after a discussion that should have been only a curtain raiser to a truly great and prolonged debate. Had it been a simple act of parliament or an ordinary legislative measure like those usually passed by state law making bodies everywhere one could bear with the Irish dictators. But it was an amendment to the Constitution, a great and deep change in the organic law of the land in that which corresponds to our Bill of Rights, that is to say, the clauses of the Irish Constitution which deal with assemblage, free speech, free press, trial by jury and immunity from oppressive acts on the part of the police and military authorities were torn out from the text and had substituted for them a group of measures so harsh and so diabolically engineered as to make the most hardened Oriental despot green with envy. It was even too much for the case hardened editors of English Journals, one of whom condemned it as the most autocratic piece of legislation ever passed in a parliament of a free people.

With one fell swoop fourteen organizations are declared illegal and are outlawed. Their names are: The Irish Republican Army, Saor Eire, the Irish Volunteers, Ireland's Defenders,

Women's League, Friends of Soviet Russia, Irish Labor Defence League, Workers Defence Corps, Women Prisoners Defence League, Workers Revolutionary Party, Irish Working Farmers Committee, Irish Tribute League, Workers Research Bureau, and Anti-Imperialist League.

The Communist Party of Ireland is not alone declared illegal but its paper, "The Workers Voice," is suppressed. A weekly paper, controlled by James Larkin, Sr., was also suppressed. Larkin as usual had his little joke, for he is not a member of the Communist Party. He has a trade union of his own and a paper that reflects his own views. When his outfit was strangled Larkin said the next thing in order was for the workers, who did not agree with the Government, to learn the dummy language.

The Saor Eire is a body made up of small farmers or peasants and workers. Its conference positively said it was not communist, but though the members vigorously protested against the new bill and their being included in it, the Saor Eire or Free Ireland organization was declared illegal. "An Poblacht," (The People), a radical republican and avowed revolutionary paper, was the most important paper suppressed under the new law.

Several of the above named organizations are scarcely more than paper ones. Some are duplicates of one another. Except the Irish Republican Army group and the weekly paper, "An Poblacht" (The People), the majority of the groups mentioned have few members outside Dublin.

It is a question whether any of these organizations are anti-clerical. But the Church, which is the most powerful force in Ireland, demanded their suppression. In fact it was the church which called for the passage of the new law. As it is the power behind the throne in more than one sense, the church had its wishes granted by the legislature. Miss Mary MacSweeney, who is well known in this country as the leader of the Sinn Fein group, privately interviewed some of the Bishops with the hope of securing their support for her plan to defeat the bill or modify it in some way. She was rebuffed

A few Communist meetings address-

sed by Sakatvalla, the Indian Communist and former member of parliament, were held in the provincial towns and cities. It does not appear that anything unusual happened at them or that the Hindoo and his comrades set the country on fire. But they were communist and they were friendly towards Russia. That was excuse enough for the Bishops and their tools in parliament to draft the bill that was to deprive all the people of their constitutional rights. It is also reported that the Bishops did not relish the idea of political disturbances during the International Eucharistic Congress next June, or around that time, so they planned the legislative ripper known as the Constitution Amendment Act.

The Government party with the independents supported the bill. The DeValera party half heartedly opposed it. The Irish Labor Party put up the only intelligent fight against the measure. DeValera, while opposing the bill, said there were plenty of laws in the statute books to meet the emergency complained of by the government party. He did admit, however, that parliament was supreme and that there should not be two armies, an official one and a rebel one. He wailed that, "no one has a right to take life." One expects such talk from a constitutionalist but one hardly wants to hear it from a man who once headed a revolutionary government and profited by the destructive acts of his subordinates and associates. Two labor members, Anthony and Morrissey, voted for the bill, and were promptly expelled by their party executive. The two traitors have since become the darlings of the conservatives and the clergy.

Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Skeffington, Mrs. MacBride, Nora Connolly, and others who have been leading forlorn hopes for years have organized protest meetings and have made Dublin and the country ring with their voices condemning the bill. Labor unions and the Labor party to a man have lined up against the act. Many public bodies, city corporations and urban councils have condemned the bill and a great agitation is on for its repeal. But the church is strong and stubborn and I do not expect it will consent to a repeal of its handiwork until a year or two has gone by, or until the government party loses at the polls.

For the present anyone is liable to
(Continued on Page 28)

LABOR AGE FORUM

LABOR AGE does not wish to expend an excessive amount of energy in controversy with other groups and organizations in the labor movement, although such discussion cannot be avoided altogether and it is important that issues be from time to time clarified. For this reason as well as lack of space we are printing only a very small part of the letters received by us bearing in one way or another on the "political" proposals recently put forth by CPLA.

Comrade Lewis' letter has, however, been in our hands for some time and since it has not been possible to publish it hitherto, we are now printing a consider-

able portion of it though considerations of space have compelled us to cut down some of his quotations.

We have frequently set forth our position on the question of the relation of a political party to the industrial struggle to which Comrade Lewis refers in his closing paragraphs and therefore need not again argue at length our dissent from the position he takes. It must be said, however, that if lack of large funds for relief purposes is to be a reason for not having any strikes, then we might as well give up all hope of organizing activities on the industrial field for some time to come. The CPLA experience in Paterson

has shown that a genuinely effective strike can be fought with very small funds.

As for the issue of corruption, the question is not whether stealing is sometimes good and sometimes bad, but rather whether it is worthwhile to spend a lot of energy and money in trying to make government under the capitalist regime honest, in order that it may then be used by workers to overthrow capitalism! The whole question, in other words, of how much workers can depend on parliamentary methods under our present sham democracy is involved.

EDITORS

Dear Editor:

I do not understand the sniping of the Socialist Party which has characterized certain articles in Labor Age recently. In particular I do not see how anyone can honestly describe the Socialist Party as a "middle class affair, catering to small business people and professionals" as Jennie D. Carliph calls us in your September issue. I note that she does not bring one atom of evidence to support her views, and I would like to present the evidence the other way.

First, I would like to present as evidence our last national platform. There were some differences of opinion on the details of immediate demands, but the passages which I present were all adopted unanimously. The preamble to the immediate demands reads in part as follows:

"From the wars, waste, and cruelty of a system where the rightful heritage of the workers is the private property of the few, only the united efforts of farmers and workers of hand and brain, through their co-operatives, unions, and political party can save us. We must make government in cities, States and Nation the servant of the people. That requires our own political party. We can not place our trust in "good men" or political Messiahs.

"Bitter experience has proved that we can not trust the alternate rule of the Republican and Democratic Parties. They belong to the landlords, bankers, oil speculators, coal and power barons" in short, to the capitalist class which finances them. Under their control the Government, by what it does and leaves undone, by its calculated inefficiency as well as its repression and corruption, makes our alleged democracy largely an illusion.

"Corruption is natural under parties which are the tools of the forces of privilege. It has become accepted even by the men who are victims of it.

"These things need not be. The Socialist Party itself as the political party of the producing classes, the workers in farm, factory, mine or office. It is our political weapon in the class struggle, and in its triumph lies our hope of ending that struggle."

Can anybody honestly say that is a middle class appeal in face of the fact that both argument and phraseology are directed to the workers and farmers alone?

Take the preamble to our 1930 state platform here:

"The trouble with our state is that it is not truly ours. It is controlled by industrial capitalists and financiers, rather than by the people. The wealth of "our" state belongs to comparatively few. They own the jobs and determine the wages; they pack the public service commission and fix the rates; they own and control the press and radio, and dictate public opinion. They have bought up the Democratic and Republican parties through campaign contributions, and corruption is only natural under such control.

"The Socialist Party on the other hand represents the workers by hand and brain. It owes no political debts to capitalist campaign contributors. We want to end class differences and the class struggle, to end strikes, lockouts, low wages, unemployment, and the high cost of living by public ownership and democratic management of the means of large scale production, distribution, and exchange. . . . Through public ownership and democratic management we can use the resources and industrial equip-

ment of our state to produce, not profits for a few, but more comfort, leisure, and well being for all. We believe in production for use rather than for profit."

What is middle class about that?

Take some of our leaflets of which we are distributing several hundred thousand. Two of the most popular are "Are We Slaves of the Corporations?" and "Unemployment and the Mechanical Man," the latter written by James H. Maurer. The first does not even mention the professional class or the middle class. It tells at length about the profits of the owners of industry, the low wages of the workers and the crime wave resulting from unemployment and then describes the Socialist program.

The latter gives instance after instance of the displacement of labor by machinery, and the parallel increase in the number of millionaires and then says:

"We, the people, must own the Robots! The whole system of production and distribution must be changed. Our natural resources, our labor-saving machinery, our socially necessary tools of production and distribution must be used in the interest of all the people instead of, as now, for the profit of a few and the misery of the many."

To be sure, in city campaigns, the Socialist Party does not so much demand public ownership of the banks, the mines, and the factories as it demands public ownership of the traction system, electric light plants, etc., and points out repeatedly the corruption of the two old parties. Is that middle class, or should we advocate having the government of New York City or Philadelphia nationalize the mines and banks and recognize Soviet Russia? We would

of course only be fooling the workers thereby, and if we got power in the city on such an issue and then of course could do nothing about it, the workers would quite naturally become disgusted.

No doubt a city election campaign which exposes corruption more effectively than the "out" party of the Dem-Rep twins does attract certain middle class support. That does not mean necessarily that opposing corruption is middle class, or makes a party with the program and appeal of which I have given samples middle class. It is universally admitted by all shades of radicals that we must use the government more on behalf of the workers to overcome the power of the owning class. For the workers cannot overcome the power of the owners without calling on governmental power to help them. That is true for immediate improvements like old age pensions or unemployment insurance; it is true for winning strikes, and it is true for putting over our ultimate program. Because of corruption we have a psychology tremendously suspicious of governmental action to struggle against in carrying on our Socialist propaganda. This suspicion is cleverly played upon not merely by standpat politicians but by reactionary labor leaders as well. Also I usually find that

those who think that the Socialist Party is middle class because in city campaigns it uses the issue of corruption among other issues, are willing enough to call the Soviet government proletarian when it shoots grafters. Just why it is middle class to try to get rid of grafters and jail them as the Socialist Party in some city elections proposes, and proletarian to try to get rid of grafters by shooting them I don't know.

Finally, some people think that the Socialist Party is middle class because it fails to take the initiative in calling the workers out on strike in certain instances. I do not raise here the issue of whether it is the proper function of a political party founded on the class struggle to call strikes. Obviously such an organization is not the best organization to handle a strike, as that is not its primary purpose. Still, if it could be done without creating too much dissension in the ranks of the workers, it is a reasonable attitude to take that that should be included among the functions of a party taking the workers' side in the class struggle such as the Socialist Party claims to be. But at least at the present time, the chances of doing it successfully are small, as the experience of the CPLA in the Kanawha Valley strike shows. Any good sized strike in-

volves more funds than the Socialist Party can possibly secure at present to furnish relief for the strikers. The prospect of any strike being successful now in a period of terrific unemployment is not bright. And a lost strike often involves destruction of the union, and elimination of the most aggressive elements among the workers by discharge and black listing, and promises of the employers not to discriminate against union men are worth just about nothing. Under such circumstances, it is not abandoning the class struggle for the Socialist Party to concentrate chiefly on its task of calling upon the workers to fight the class struggle on the political field where their numbers make them strong, their poverty is not so terrible a handicap, and defeat is not destruction of their organization.

Some people may feel, despite the considerations which I have mentioned, that such an attitude on the part of the Socialist Party is an error of judgment, but at the worst an error of judgment in a particular situation does not make a party middle class, and particularly could not make the Socialist Party with its platforms and propaganda literature such as I have already outlined a middle class affair.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

LETTERS FROM WORKERS

"I Don't Have a Job"

Dear Editor:

In response to your inquiry of last week about where I am and what I am doing—I am still at the above address, but I fear that I shall not be here much longer because I don't have a job and consequently don't know where next month's rent is coming from. The second part of the question is answered already; I'm looking for a job and worrying because I have a month old baby and a wife to support. I'm so far gone that we have decided to sell our furniture and move to cheap lodgings.

Worry and fear—not for myself but for my wife and baby—have done their worst to me; countless men are prey to the same wretched life as I, and I am now able to understand why there is not more militancy, more fighting back among the working class. The long continued and hopeless quest for a job has left me—temporarily I hope—in a state of dull resignation.

It is a source of some surprise to me that certain rich and powerful figures in the financial and industrial corporations of this country are still living. Not that

the annihilation of such men would be a loss; it would be a blessing.

It is my positive belief that intelligent class consciousness is growing amongst all parts of the working class; and that if strong leaders are forthcoming, strong unions will be built. The people are of a mind to organize as I have never seen them before.

Yours,
JOHN RUSIEK

Conditions in Scranton

Dear Editor:

The conditions here in Scranton, among the pants-makers, are deplorable and unbelievable. This is worse than in the South. Imagine, girls are getting \$1.50 and \$2.50 for five hours work. Some of the girls have to deduct their carfare from these starvation wages.

The Chamber of Commerce and the police have started to fight us. Last Saturday a couple of dicks came to our office and escorted me to the Chief of Police, who told me that he did not like the way we have been carrying on our work; that we were violating laws by distributing leaflets; that we were not affiliated with

the A. F. of L.; and that he was going to put up a battle. They threatened to arrest me when I refused to answer some of the questions. The Chief informed me that if the girls want organization, they can go to the C. L. U., which is here for that purpose. That gave me a good laugh.

The slack season is here now, and we have slowed down on our activities, but we expect to begin a very intensive campaign about next month. We sure are going to have a good battle here, because these run-away employers from New York are protected by gangsters.

Fraternally,
SOPHIA ZORACK.

The Southern Industrial League

Dear Editor:

The cotton mills of North Carolina are not satisfied with having put on one stretch-out system resulting in a 10 to 20 percent wage reduction. The Carleen Manufacturing Company, one of the Martel chain, have now installed the second with another 10 per cent reduction in wages. Whereas a spinner used to run

8 sides he was given 14 in 1929. Now he has 20, which means that roller skates are no longer fast enough for the workers.

This week the Clinchfield Manufacturing Company gave their workers a second 10 per cent wage cut within a year. This means that the weavers are now working 12 hours per day, five and a half days per week, for \$12.45. Sweepers and loom cleaners are working for \$8 per week. Yet coal, house rent, and company insurance are the same as they were in 1926, and groceries are only about 5 per cent cheaper. Isn't it about time that Green and Hoover get together and make another agreement so that they can break it?

Which brings up the question, what is the labor movement doing about the misery of the workers today? The official labor movement is doing nothing. The echoes of the speeches of the A. F. of L. leaders have died away over the mountain tops and the people have forgotten them—except a few who remember how they lied. The makers of these speeches have seen their shadows and been scared and gone into their holes like ground hogs.

But a new baby has been born in the South. One that the workers are beginning to notice, and they are prophesying a wonderful future for it. They have named it The Southern Industrial League, because it has the marks of honesty, militancy and, we hope, the fighting spirit of its only relative, the C. P. L. A.

Hoping that Labor Age will be able to carry a new arrival column this fall, wherein it can announce the arrival of many youngsters of this kind, I am,

Faternally,

LARRY HOGAN.

Mrs. Harold Reade

Dear Editor:

I quote the following AP news dispatch from the New York Times of July 12:

"Mrs. Harold Reade of Chicago, a member of the Labor Chatauqua of the League for Industrial Democracy, which arrived here this week to do educational, recreational and welfare work among the miners, died in a hospital today following an operation."

Mrs. Reade was brought up in comfort and ease, and graduated from a university at the age of 21. Despite this, she wanted to become one of the working people. She wanted to understand their problems so that she could help them in their struggles, and worked in various industries at unskilled jobs.

In 1929 Mrs. Reade participated actively in the strike of the millinery workers in Chicago; in August, 1930, she helped

in the strike of the workers on children's dresses in New York city; and in July 1931, she died while helping the starving miners of West Virginia in their heroic fight for better conditions. Thus she died among the workers to whom she had voluntarily and without necessity dedicated her life.

I felt that the death of Mrs. Harold Reade did not receive the notice it deserved in the labor papers of the country. People of her devotion and ability are far too scarce. Her death has been a great loss, for the labor movement in America will have to be built by people like her who are sincere, devoted and able.

MARY APPLEBAUM

Relief for Paupers Only

Dear Editor:

In regard to the General Mine Board I haven't much to say. The last two meetings held were not very well attended and it seems as though things are cooling off. The Shenandoah Mine Board however, is a bit more active.

About three weeks ago one of the largest collieries of the Philadelphia and Reading Collieries Company was shut down. The men at this colliery passed a resolution forbidding any member of the local to work any overtime. Their contention was that if there was overtime the company could hire extra men to do it. They tried to enforce this rule with threat of a strike. The company, however, beat them to it and locked the mine out—and they haven't worked since.

The latest development is that the company wants to discharge the grievance committee.

At another colliery there was a two-day strike. The men won the strike and as a result the teamsters got an increase in wages. This was at an independent company.

Down here the grievance committees of Alaska Reliance and Locust Gap collieries have been conferring about the company loading culm (dirt) banks while the mines are idle. These collieries send coal to the big Locust Summitt Breaker, and there is inside talk of a possible strike to compel the coal company to stop loading dirt bank coal and to reopen the mines instead. What will actually happen remains to be seen.

We had a heated discussion at one of our meetings regarding relief. I wanted the group to go on record asking for state and federal unemployment relief instead of only local charity relief.

There was some complaint about the way relief was being distributed here. The local charities will not give relief to anybody who is paying for a home. One must admit "pauperism" before one can get help.

A MINER.

The Third Party Venture

Dear Editor:-

Every time I open one of our so-called liberal magazines I chance to see that some organization or group of liberals is all set to launch a Third Party, and I often wonder why they don't all get together and fight it out unto victory.

The Third Party venture is easier said than done. You have two great, wealthy machines rooted in the fertile soil of our country. It will require endless courage, energy, and huge sums of money to uproot the evil and plant the good. Besides, you have the American, a very well satisfied human being with the idea that what was good enough for his father is good enough for him, ready to take abuse without protest. That is why it is not just a job for the C. P. L. A. or the L. I. P. A. or the Socialist Party alone, but the combined force of all three can make the way clear for the establishment of a Labor Party in the United States which will be effective as well as active.

I suggest that we have a round table conference at which official members of the above organizations will get together, lay their cards on the table and compromise on ways and means to make this Labor Party a reality. Most of their differences are personal prejudices and surely these can be overcome in the cause of idealism.

Right at this point, I must tell you of a conference held in New York this month at which an organized party and a liberal group met to talk over the 1932 campaign. I was told by someone present at that meeting that the "party" wanted to know just what there would be in it for them, if they joined hands. I almost can hear Tammany talking.

But they were quite willing to allow this liberal organization to endorse their candidates and get them votes. A rather condescending privilege, eh? The conference I have in mind must have none of that. The organization must be willing to "pool" their energies, compromise on their principles and divide their sorrows as well as share their joys. They must compromise only as far as it will benefit the worker whom they represent and in whose interest they are working.

The Socialist Party seems to feel that it is the third party in the field and it cannot see any reason for another. But the Socialist Party today is ineffective, inefficient and needs reorganization. In order to give it any power there should be quite a bit of elimination as well as additions made therein. But the Party itself is broken within its ranks, so how

(Continued on Page 29)



"Say It With Books"



What Makes Them Lawless?

Our Lawless Police. by Ernest Jerome Hopkins. The Viking Press, New York. 379 Pages. \$3.00

THE active radicals in the United States have never had reason to be especially fond of the law. They will nonetheless be interested in the defense of the law against its most privileged violators as presented by Mr. Hopkins. In his eminently readable book he replaces the general vague impression of police brutality and unfairness with a body of facts establishing beyond question a systematic and increasingly serious invasion of the right of the individual under constitutional and statute law. For the majority of liberal readers his work gains a certain impressiveness in being concerned primarily not with general humanitarian principles but with legal rights, privileges, and immunities. His explanations of cause and remedy for the police abuses will be less satisfactory to those who differ from his liberal point of view, but they cannot fail to be interesting in the many new suggestions and arguments which they present.

This is not a picture of unreasoning sadism in our police, but the deliberate usurpation of court functions. The fact that four-fifths of those arrested on a charge of felony never come to trial before a judge is startlingly indicative of this modern inquisition to which we so complacently submit. Of these four-fifths, three-fifths are dismissed, and one-fifth plead guilty. In other words, before an irresponsible and hostile tribunal, availing itself usually of the most brutal and cunning methods to extort evidence from the accused, fully half the defendants who might reasonably be suspected of a major crime plead guilty.

What defence have the police to offer against charges which they are often willing to admit and discuss freely? The frequent justification is: "The constitution protects the criminal;" such lawlessness is necessary for the protection of society; it is used only against hardened criminals; it is used only when the police are sure of the guilt of the criminal, but cannot prove it. These excuses the author goes to some length to demolish.

What factors encourage the growth and persistence of these evasions of the law? Hopkins summarizes them under the headings of the tradition of the police, their mentality, and the sociological pressures under which they work. To the old constabulary or messengers of the court, who were the first police, the frontier and the waterfront contributed violence; bossism and the spoils system contributed corruptness; puritanical morality contributed mercilessness; and shysterism a disbelief in the efficacy of legal methods. This tradition is being perpetuated by a poorly-administered civil-service, which has effectually prevented the removal of incompetent policemen, while receiving only the poorest material into the force through one-sided requirements.

As a graphic expose of brutality, cor-

ruption, and crime in our police-departments, this book will do good work in disillusioning our citizenry. But to ascribe these abuses to inefficiency which can be remedied by measures like the revision of civil service rules, as Hopkins suggests, is to betray an even more serious gullibility. If it is true as he says himself, that the work of the police would not be eased if all "criminals" were in jail; that economic and social conditions breed crime faster than the best police can punish, much less prevent, then the only sound treatment would be aimed at these conditions. Any other remedies are in the same class as Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound. "Our Lawless Police" is good newspaper work — no more, no less.

CHARLES BERLINRUT

BRASS RINGS AND BRASS CHECKS

Washington Merry-Go-Round. Anonymous. Published by Horace Liveright, Inc. 366 pp. Price \$3.00.

THIS book is appropriately dedicated "To those who still reach for the Brass Ring." Written by a Washington staff newspaperman (or newspapermen), it is a lively account of the capital of our nation. From Chapter I on the social inanities of the Capital, entitled "Boiled Bosoms," to Chapter XV on "The Press," it tells all the dirt. Without reverence, without regard to the dignity of the windbags who flounder in the Ship of State, the volume tells the whole story of capitalist government as it is.

The most revealing, and the most interesting for the class-conscious worker, is the chapter on the "Progressives"—"Sons of the Wild Jackass." The "Progressives," themselves sincere and for the most part honest, are lost by a lack of program. I quote from page 186:

"But the day when individual probity alone was enough to cope with economic and social forces has long since passed in this country—if it ever existed. Mighty aggregations of wealth dominated by centralized control rule the land and they can be grappled with only by organized

mass action, mobilized behind a program of fundamental reform."

To those who wonder why the State Department is what it is, the chapter on the department will help toward an understanding. I had some experience with that department during the reception of Dino Grandi, Mussolini's representative.

The fact that my telephone was tapped is not as funny as was the effort of the State Department to de-code a telegram from my wife. At a time when thousands of Americans are dying from starvation without government intervention, the State Department detailed hundreds of men to protect the life of the worthless representative of the blackest regime in the world.

"Washington Merry-Go-Round" will tell you some of the background of Under Secretary of State Castle who whitewashed the Fascist League of North America and was rewarded by being given the job of receiving Grandi. It will tell you about Laurence Richey (ex-Lorenzo Ricci), secretary and muscle-man to President Hoover.

And it will tell you about the President who said that he could break any strike of his Chinese coolies by chaining them to a stake in the hot sun for a day, the

President who had to send Ricci (or Richey) to England to destroy some papers before he could become President; the same president who has lied and shifted the blame and used weasel words whenever he has been caught with the goods.

The book conveys the impression that among the working newspapermen of Washington there is a sentiment for revolt. A not very strong sentiment as yet, but one that is likely to grow as more newspapermen feel the thing that millions of other workers in mills, fields and offices are beginning to feel—that only their own united effort will free them from the disgrace of their present position.

WARREN C. MORETROSS.

PROLETARIAN WOMEN

Woman's Coming of Age, by 28 Contemporary Authorities, edited by Samuel Schmalhausen and V. F. Calverton, published by Horace Liveright, New York, 1931, \$3.75.

THE writers of these 569 pages exhibit much anthropological, psychological, and sexological learning. Palme Dutt, in the last article—"Women in the Class Struggle"—shows an understanding of Marxian economics. He divides women into two classes; the women of the bourgeoisie and of the proletariat.

In a capitalist society bourgeois women have to a large extent secured bourgeois freedoms: freedom of education, freedom to enter the professions, freedom to hold property, and freedom to vote. They have joined the men of their class in the bourgeois freedom to exploit.

In a capitalist society proletarian women can not obtain any freedom. "The vast mass of women are exploited in their younger years in the factory, the shop, or in domestic service, and pass from this to the bondage of the working class married household." In the labor market the sexes are pitted against each other as every individual is played off against every other individual. "The crime of capitalism, which makes for every worker the entry into the labor process, not an entry into a co-operative process of production where every helper is gladly welcome, but an entry into a cut throat fight for life. . . ."

In a socialist society only can women secure freedom. The women of the bourgeoisie have attained their aims within the capitalist state which they now aid in maintaining. The women of the proletariat have to help the men of the proletariat in the destruction of that state and in the building of socialism. The alignment is, then, not a sexual one of women against men but a class one of proletarian men and women against

bourgeois men and women. In the Chartist Movement, in the Paris Commune, and in the Russian Revolution this need for common struggle against a common enemy was recognized. "Where the socialist revolution has triumphed, in the Soviet Union, there alone complete legal equality of men and women has been established."

Most of the large book describes conditions in the past or those in the present resulting from the exploitations of the many by the few. Palme Dutt points the way forward. I wish that this article were printed separately.

MIRIAM BONNER.

THE "HOPE" OF INFLATION

Notes on the Crisis by Walter Lippmann, The John Day Pamphlets. Price 25c.

WALTER LIPPMANN pleads for a realistic approach to the problems of the present depression. "This belief in the automatic restoration of prosperity," he declares, "has made us for the time being a nation of fatalists. We have told ourselves in a thousand public statements that if winter comes spring cannot be far behind. We have looked upon our troubles, not as problems to be solved, but as so much bad weather in which the chief thing to do was to sit in front of the barometer and wait for the change in the wind."

The proposal which the Administration has in mind to solve the present problem is inflation of prices. According to Lippmann this device would have the following advantages. It would reduce the overhead charges of industry without tampering with the rate of wages and the nominal return on preferred stocks, bonds and bank credits. "The labor leaders who will resist to the bitter and a 10 per cent reduction in the rate of wages would be the first to acclaim a 10 per cent rise in the prices. Lippmann believes that inflation is the "secret and unavowed hope" of the Administration.

Should this "hope" be realized and there is good grounds for believing that it will very soon, then the American workers will be jerked out of their complacent ignorance of the processes of capitalist society and hand-to-mouth trade unionism into a broader class-consciousness and a deeper knowledge of the workings of the present profit system. The battles for the maintenance of the living standard of the American workers will lose its narrow craft character and will necessarily assume more of the nature of a broad class movement.

B. M.

TYRANNY IN IRELAND

(Continued from Page 23)

search and arrest; to being put in jail without charges; to be tried by military officers who do not know law; to be deprived of counsel; to be punished without appeal. The five military men who constitute the star chamber and the court do not have to report to the Executive before inflicting punishment, although the President and his council may grant reprieves or commute sentences when their attention is called to cases tried by the court. Note the court is not compelled to first report before punishing. This saves the Executive embarrassment. The court, the soldiers and the police are immune from arrest, prosecution or damage suits.

A proscribed association or a member of it must not print, type or write anything displeasing to the court. A person who so violates the law is subject to a fine of \$250 or to any punishment the court officers may like. There is no limit. Juries are abolished. Appeals are ended. Executive clemency is fettered or prevented. Possession of a paper or document in violation of the law is a crime. The law is the only retroactive measure ever passed in modern times in an English speaking country. A clause reads "whether committed before or after the passage of the act."

WHITE MAN'S "FAIRNESS"

(Continued from Page 8)

was motoring through Georgia in company with Nina Mae Johnson and two others. Near Dalton they met with an accident and Miss Derricotte and Miss Johnson were fatally injured, but were refused admission to the white hospital at Dalton.

Memphis, murder capital of the civilized world, with a homicide rate four times Chicago's, added another to its long list of killings when J. R. Johnson, white employe in the Union compress plant, pulled a gun on Jesse Cummings, colored, who had been quarrelling with another colored employe. Authorities did not even bother to arrest Johnson. In Memphis it is almost impossible to find a jury which will convict a white man for killing a Negro.

A white lawyer and his white woman companion were attacked and driven from Worcester County, Md., because they came to defend a colored laborer, Orphan Jones or Yuel Lee.

"The Best Strike Paterson Ever Had"

(Continued from Page 17)

The Struggle Continues

Officially the strike is now over, but actually the struggle of the workers, and particularly workers in the silk industry, will never be over so long as the profit system continues. That is why it is so important that the leadership in the union, after the strike is called off, be a militant, honest and intelligent leadership.

The silk industry today is suffering from the worst slump in its history. Shops are closing down. Thousands of workers are unemployed and the suffering is intense. Many of the most militant strikers are having their gas shut off, are compelled to light their homes with candles and are without food for days at a time. They have no clothing, or not sufficient to protect them against winter weather. Some of them are being evicted, and the threat of eviction hangs over the heads of hundreds of families. Local city relief machinery refuses to operate unless the workers come within the proper classification or are willing to entirely sacrifice their self-respect.

"Why don't you go to the poor

house?" was asked of one of the unemployed silk workers, who was active in the strike, when he applied for relief. "We cannot help you if you have no children," another was told. Both he and his wife have been out of work for months. They must depend entirely upon their friends, many of whom are in almost as bad condition, for food.

Naturally the manufacturers are taking full advantage of the helplessness of the workers and are trying in every way to break their agreements by lengthening the hours and by cutting the piece prices.

But despite the desperate condition of the workers their spirit still remains excellent and they continue to fight back. But they must have help. Otherwise the conditions which they so courageously won this past summer may be again taken from them.

The Third Party Venture

Continued from page 28

can they expect very much with conditions as they are? If they are really sincerely working to better conditions for the worker they ought to be glad to join hands with those who are working for the same purpose.

Why doesn't Labor Age call in a con-

The Lawrence Strike

(Continued from Page 13)

workers have realized for the first time in the history of Lawrence their great need for an effective union, the A.T.W. has great possibilities. It has a militant, honest leadership which has refused to be discouraged by the outcome of the strike.

But under-paid textile workers cannot fight long unless their friends and sympathizers from the outside help them. They must eat, and to eat they must have money. This money and relief must come from the outside. Thus the final outcome of the brave fight of the A.T.W. rests to a large extent with the support that you who want to see a militant progressive union established in Lawrence are able and willing to give.

ference whose aim would be to create a Labor Party in this country, strong, courageous and steadfast in its purpose, one that would cleanse this country of its rotten politics and corruption and truly make it an ideal place for all.

"United we stand, divided, we fall." So let's unite and carry on.

HENRIETTA GIOVANNI

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